HISTORY OF TIRHUT

From the Earliest Times
to
The End of the Nineteenth Century.

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WITH A FOREWORD
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FOREWORD

I have been requested to write a Foreword to Mr. Shyam Narayan Singh's History of Tirhut and I do so with confidence that I was instrumental in bringing it to the notice of so distinguished an authority as Professor Sylvain Levi, and it is on his encouragement that the book is published. He would indeed himself have written the introduction had he not been called away to Nepal on urgent business. It is with sincere pleasure that I introduce to the public a work on Bihar history by a Bihari, which has earned the commendation of so distinguished a scholar.

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RANCHI,
May 26th 1922

PREFACE

It is an admitted fact that owing chiefly to the lack of an adequate account of the subject, few possess any connected information about the history of Tirhut * without which the civilization of India as a whole cannot be fully appreciated For not only does it possess much intrinsic merit in itself but the light it sheds on the life and thought of Indian population has a peculiar interest for every student of Indian history It is rather strange that up to this time no history of Tirhut as a whole has been written in any language and any attempt, however inadequate, to make up the deficiency may perhaps be welcome. It is in this belief that I have ventured to offer this book to the public. I have not tried to treat the topics in a full and comprehensive manner, but have contented myself with noting down only those facts, the knowledge of which, I hope, may be of some use to the country As regards chronological data and statements of facts, I lay no claim to original research, and must express full acknowledgment for the use of the works of my predecessors in the field But the treatment of the subject and interpretation of facts are mostly my own, and sometimes differ materially from those of other writers. I have avoided as far as possible entering into controversies on points of purely literary interest, though it has been sometimes necessary to take a definite stand-point when important historical issues are at stake.

The system of transliteration here followed is that

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* Vāmana in his Lingānuśāsana (cf. page 18, Gaekwad's Oriental Series No VI, Baroda Edition, 1918) has mentioned तीरभुक्ति (वरेन्द्रा· तीरभुक्ति कलिदेशः) and as Vāmana lived in the 8th century A D., it is clear that the name Tīrabhukti or Tirhut was known in the 8th century A D.

which has been adopted by the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland and adopted also elsewhere owing to the difficulty of reproducing Sanskrit words on account of the inadequacy of the Roman alphabet which necessitates the use of diacritical marks. The letter Ś in Sanskrit is the equivalent of Sh in 'Shun'; ṣ is somewhat thinner in pronunciation, like the ss in 'session'; ṃ resembles the n in the French word 'bon'; ḥ the German ch in 'ach' and ñ the French gn in 'montagne.' The palatal c is to be sounded like the initial ch in churchill; ch has an aspirate sound like that of the ch in the middle of the same word; ph and th are also aspirates as the English 'up-hill' and 'ant-hill' respectively. The vowels when unmarked (except e and o, which are always long) are short and when they have a horizontal strike above them, are long; thus (i) is sounded as in 'pin,' ī like ee in 'seen.' The vowel ṛ is to be pronounced like *ri* in risk.

The table below may be helpful in rightly pronouncing Sanskrit letters in the text:—

ā	आ	ñ	ञ	ṣ	ष		
ī	ई	ṭ	ट	kṣ	क्ष		
ū	ऊ	ṭh	ठ	gñ	ज्ञ		
ṛ	ऋ	ḍ	ड	ṃ	ं (अनुस्वार)		
ṝ	ॠ	ḍh	ढ	ṁ	(अनुनासिक)		
ṅ	ङ	ṇ	ण	ḥ	: (विसर्ग)		
c	च	s	स				
ch	छ	ś	श				

There have however been some deviations in print from this system which, I regret extremely, cannot be set right at this stage. The book, moreover, written hurriedly in the intervals of a busy work, is likely to contain errors of style and statement.

The subject which I have treated is extensive and has

involved a certain amount of exploration in unfamiliar bye-paths of ancient literature. As the work is beset with difficulties, it would be sheer presumption on my part to hope that my book presents a complete statement of facts relating to every item of discussion but I shall feel highly rewarded for my labours if it proves of some assistance to others devoted to the same cause. For instance, there has recently been some interesting discussion[1] regarding the origin and caste of the Licchavis of Baisali, a subject which I have dealt with in Chapter I, Part II of this volume; and there are now sufficient materials for a separate essay on the Licchavis. In fact Professor Sylvain Levi, the greatest living orientalist, has been strenously making researches and has obtained materials which will throw splendid light on this subject. But so far as I am concerned, it would be unfair in every sense to omit to mention some of the materials which have prominently attracted attention since this book was sent to Press. Thus a Licchavi has been taken as an issue of a Vratya father and a Kshatriya mother.[2] This view is also supported by the Lexicographers Amar Simha, Halayudha and Hem Chandra.[3] On the other hand, Bohtlingk and Roth as well as Monier Williams call them a regal race.[4] It is narrated that Licchavis once asked Maudagalāyana out of veneration whether it was possible for them to subdue Ajatasatru, king of Magadh, and were told in reply "men of Vashista's race, you will conquer."[5] As men of Vashista's race were Kshtriyas, it may be taken that Licchavis were also Kshtriyas. It is also known that Mahabir, the Jain

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1 Cf. J.A.S B., XVII, 1921, No. 3, pp. 265–271.

2 Cf. The Vaijayanti (Oppert), pp. 76, L. 108.

3 Also Cf. Nalopakhyāna (Bohtlingk, Christhomathie) I. 820, II. 80: also Lalitavistāra, 137–424: also Avidhānadipika, Colombo, 1865.

4 Cf. A Sanskrit English Dictionary by Monier Williams, 1899.

5 Cf The life of the Buddha, Rockhill, footnote, p. 97.

leader, who has admittedly been taken as a Kshatriya, was related to Licchavis.[1] There is another very amusing story about the origin of the Licchavis. It was said that the chief queen of Benares gave birth to a "lump of flesh." But being dissatisfied with herself, she placed it in a pot and threw it into the Ganges. It is related that a hermit found the pot and kept it with him and from this lump of flesh children were born who were afterwards known as Licchavis.[2] This cock and bull story gives some colour to the account regarding their mixed origin and it is likely that their descent had something to do with the Scythians.[3] It is possible that they were a lean and thin class of people as the word "Licchavi" has been interpreted as made up of Lina (thin) and Chabi[4] (figure or skin). That they were once a most affluent race is shown by the description of various festivities amongst them in which all classes of their people participated[5] as well as by their fondness for gaiety.[6] It is said that king Bimbisara of Magadha, though not on good terms with the Licchavis, went to Baisali to meet an exceedingly beautiful courtesan Amrapāli from whom was born to him a son named Abhaya who thus became a foster brother of Ajataśatru, king of Magadh.[7] A custom which is still found (in Mithla) in existence to some extent to-day was known among the Licchavis, i.e. a Licchavigaṇa could select a suitable wife for a Licchavi when asked for and this Licchavigana used also to dispose of charges of adultery and confined marriages to Baisali or

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[1] Cf. Kalpa Sutra (Jacobi) verse 128, p. 266, S.B.E., Vol. XXII.

[2] Cf. Paramattha Jotika on Khuddaka Patha (P.T.S.), pp. 158–165.

[3] Cf. Ind Anty. Vol. XXXII. pp. 233–236

[4] Cf. Watters' Yuanchuwang Vol. II, page 77 as well as Khuddakapatha (P T S.), pp. 158–165.

[5] Cf. Samyuttanikaya (P.T.S.) Paramattha Jotika Vol. I, p. 201.

[6] Cf. Dhammapadatthakatha (P.T.S.) Vol. III, p. 279–280 and p. 460.

[7] Cf. The life of the Buddha by Rockhill, p. 64.

rather even to particular parts of it.[1] It also appears that one of the main causes of dissention between the Licchavis of Tirhut and Ajatasatru of Magadha was that the Licchavis did not divide equally with him some precious gems washed away by the Ganges from a mine at the foot of a hill not very far away from the Ganges and at last Ajatsatru succeeded in putting them down by sowing dissentions amongst them.[2] But it is not possible yet to locate any such spot in Tirhut.

In conclusion, I must acknowledge my indebtedness to those who made it a pleasure for me to undertake the present work. My grateful thanks are due to Dr. Hari Chand Shastri for constant advice and encouragement in regard to the Sanskrit portion of this work which owes so much to him. I have also received cordial assistance and suggestions from Dr. Sir George Grierson, retired I.C.S., Sir Ashutosh Mukharji of Calcutta, Revd. Anagarika Dharampal, Mr. L. F. Morshead, I.C.S., Mr. H. T. S. Forrest, I.C.S., Mahāmahopādhyāya Pundit Har Prashad Shastri, C.I.E. of Calcutta, Mahāmahopādhyāya Pundit Parmeshwar Jha of Darbhanga, Mr. Kuruvila Zachariah of the Presidency College, Calcutta, Mr. R. P. Khosla of the Greer B. B. College, Muzaffarpur, Mr. Raghunandan Sinha Sharma of Silout, Colonel Bindeshwari Prashad Singh of Benares and Mr. J. M. Wilson of Muzaffarpur to whom I take this opportunity to express my gratitude. I am greatly indebted to Maharajadhiraj Sir Rameshwar Singh of Darbhanga, whose enlightened courtesy made it easy for me to borrow a large number of valuable books from his magnificent library. I have also to thank Mr. E. L. L. Hammond, C.B.E., I.C.S., for revising the manuscript.

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1 Cf. (i) Bhikkhunivibhanga Sanghadidesa Vol. II, page 225.
(ii) The life of the Buddha by Rockhill, p. 62.

2 Sumangalavilasini (Burmese Edition, Simon Hewavitarne Bequest series, No. I, Revised by Nanissara), p. 99.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS BOOK.

A.S.R.	Archæological Survey Report
A.S.A.R.	Archæological Survey Annual Report.
A.S.B. Review	"Asiatic Society of Bengal" Review
Arch. Surv. Ind.	Archæological Survey of India.
A.S.B.	Asiatic Society of Bengal.
I.O. MSS.	India Office Manuscripts
As. Soc. MS. I.B.	Asiatic Society Manuscripts. Indian Branch.
Br. Mus. Cat.	British Museum Catalogue.
Chap.	Chapter.
Cir. or Circa	Year or period.
C.A.S.R.	Cunningham's Archæological Survey Report.
Cat.	Catalogue.
E.I.	Epigraphia Indica.
Emp. India	"The Empire of India" Series.
Fig.	Figure.
Ind. Ant.	Indian Antiquary.
Intr. or Introd.	Introduction.
Ind. Meus.	Indian Museum
I.G. MS.	"India Govt." Manuscripts.
Ind. Off. Cat.	"India Office" Catalogue.
Imp. Gaze.	Imperial Gazetteer (2nd Edition).
J.A.S.	Journal of the Asiatic Society.
J.A.S.B.	Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal.
J.B.A.S.	Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society.
MSS.	Manuscripts.
Nep.	Nepal.
Nir. Sag. Press	Nirnaya Sagar Press. Bombay.
R.A.S.B.	Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
Rep.	Report.
S.B.E.	"The Sacred books of the East" Series.

HISTORY OF TIRHUT IN THE VEDIC PERIOD DOWN TO THE 6TH CENTURY B.C.

PART I.

CHAPTER I.

THE BOUNDARIES OF MITHILĀ AND THE ORIGIN OF THE TERM MITHILĀ OR TIRHUT.

Tirhut is one of the most ancient landmarks in Indian history. It has a glorious past of which any civilised nation and country may be justly proud. The ancient Tirhutians and their kings were as renowned for their love of learning as they were feared for their prowess in arms. They were as rich in their material possessions as in their mental and spiritual endowments. Their sense of justice was proverbial among the inhabitants of all the regions to which they extended their sway. Their name to-day stands for culture and wealth just as it did some 3,000 years ago. And an investigation in regard to Tirhut and its people, apart from recalling the ancient greatness of Tirhut, will also, it is hoped, be instructive and illuminating from a general historical point of view.

The boundaries of ancient Mithilā are defined neither in the Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa nor in the Purāṇas (such as Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata, Vāyu, Skanda). It appears, however, from the Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa, Viṣṇu and Mārkaṇḍeya and other Purāṇas that there were two kingdoms to the north of the Ganges, viz. those of Vaiśālī and Mithilā. But the dividing line between them has not been indicated.[1] For all broad purposes, it appears, however, that both the

[1] The situation of these two kingdoms was not far removed from the conjunction of the river Ganges with the river Sone to the south, as (according to the Vālmīki Rāmayaṇa) Rāma finished his journey between the Sone and the Ganges (before reaching Vaiśalī) within a day.

kingdoms came to be known under the general name of Tīra-bhukti which is said to have had more extensive boundaries than modern Tirhut,[1] a name which is used as its equivalent. According to "Mithilā Khaṇḍa" which is reputed to be a part of the Bṛhad-Viṣṇupurāṇa[2], it is bounded on the east by Kauśikī (modern Koṣī), on the west by Sālagrāmī or Nārāyaṇī (modern Gaṇḍaka), on the south by the river Ganges and on the north by the Himālayan tracts. It is about 180 miles (96 kośa) long (east to west) and about 125 miles (64 kośa) broad (north to south), i.e.

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[1] Sircar Tirhut in the Mogal period of Indian history meant the area comprised in the modern districts of Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga. At present the term Tirhut means the revenue division comprising the modern districts of Saran, Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur and Champaran. The purānic definition of Tīrabhukti would bring under this name the modern districts of Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Champaran, North Monghyr, North Bhagalpur and a portion of Purnea (to the west of the river Kośi) and a great tract of land to the north of these districts generally called Nepal Tarai.

[2] *Cf.* Bṛhad-Viṣṇupurāṇa, Mithilākhaṇḍa, the dialogue between Parāsara and Maitreya (the age of Bṛhad-Viṣṇupurāṇa has not yet been ascertained, but it is popularly put after the 5th century A.D.).

गङ्गाहिमवतोर्मध्ये नदीपञ्चदशान्तर ।
तैरभुक्तिरिति ख्यातो देशः परमपावनः ॥
कौशिकीन्तु समारभ्य गण्डकीमधिगम्य वै ।
योजनानि चतुर्विंशत् व्यायामः परिकीर्त्तितः ॥
गङ्गाप्रवाहमारभ्य यावद्धैमवतं वनम् ।
विस्तारः षोडशः प्रोक्तो देशस्य कुलनन्दन ॥
मिथिला नाम नगरी तत्रास्ते लोकविश्रुता ।
पञ्चभिः कारणैः पुण्या विख्याता जगतीत्रये ॥

निमिर्नाम महाराज इक्ष्वाकोस्तनयो नृपः । तेन तप्तं तपो घोरं तेन ख्यातं तपोवनम् ॥ सुवर्णखनिरुत्पन्ना पूर्वस्मिंस्तु तपोवने । सुवर्णकाननं नाम तेन ख्यातं पयं मतम् ॥ देवराट् तपो भूमिः शिवतुष्टिकरी मता । यत्र प्राप्तधनुरत्नं तेन सा शाम्भवी वभौ ॥

× × × × × ×

रामस्वरूपा सा भूमिर्मिथिला वर्णिता पुरा । शिरोभागेन रामस्य हिमवत् खण्डमास्थितम् । पादयोर्जाह्नवी देवी गण्डकी दक्षिणे करे । वामे तु कौशिकी ज्ञेया नाभौ च जनकालये । हृदये कमलादेवी जानकीवल्लभा सखी । एवं सर्वाणि तीर्थानि प्रत्यङ्गेषु स्थितानि हि । मायापूर्यादिकाः- प्रोक्ताः सामान्ये नैवमुक्तिदाः । एषा तु मिथिला राजन् विष्णुसायुज्यकारिणी । वैदेही तु स्वयं यस्मात् सहजा ग्रन्थिविमोचिनी । आश्रितानामतस्तेषां भवेत्सा पूज्यमेव हि । सर्वे देवाः सगन्धर्वाः ब्रह्माविष्णुशिवादयः । वसन्ति मिथिलायां च नानारूपधराः शुभाः ॥

Also *cf.* the Śaktisangam Tantra :—

गण्डकीतीरमारभ्य चम्पारण्यान्तकं शिवे विदेहभूः समाख्याता तीरभुक्ताभिधो मनुः ॥

Also *cf.* Rapson's "Ancient India," 1916, p. 171; also Dowson's "Hindu Classical Dictionary," Trubner's oriental series, p. 355; also Apte's "Sanskrit-English Dictionary," Bombay, 1890, page 1047.

it comprises the modern districts of Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Champaran and parts of the districts of Monghyr, Bhagalpur and Purnea.

The famous poet of Tirhut, Paṇḍita Candā Jhā, describes the same boundaries in metrical form :—

गङ्गा वहति जनिक दक्षिणदिशि पूर्व्व कौशिकीधारा ।
पश्चिम वहति गंडकी, उत्तर हिमवत वल विस्तारा ॥
कमला त्रियुगा अमृता धेमुडा वागवती कृतसारा ।
मध्य वहति लक्ष्मणा प्रभृति से मिथिला विद्यागारा ॥

The name found in the ancient books, such as Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa, etc., is Mithilā and not Tirhut. The Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa (cir. 500 B.C.)[1] says that Mithilā was named after Mithi. The Bhāgawatapurāṇa (cir. 500 A.D.)[2], one of the most important of Indian records of tradition and mythology, explains how the country came to be known as Mithilā. The first mythical or traditional king of this part of the country was Mahārāja Nimi. He was doomed to die by the curse of his preceptor, Vaśiṣṭha, who was a great Ṛṣi (i.e. sage) and who was enraged by Nimi employing another priest, Gotama, to officiate at a sacrifice without Vaśiṣṭha's permission. After his death, all the great Ṛṣis of the time assembled and implored his spirit to re-assume human form. As he refused to do so, they bestowed on him a mystical blessing that he should live for ever in the human eye,[3] and taking his dead body, they placed it in a churn in the hope they might thus produce a son in his likeness. They were successful and a son emerged from the churn and was named Mithi,[4] who succeeded his father as a king. His country came to be known after him as Mithilā.

Nimi, whose death was due to a curse. was rightly called

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[1] *Cf.* p. 309 of Macdonell's 'History of Sanskrit Literature.' London, 1917; for another view, pp. 141 and 42 of the 'Early History of the Dekkan,' by R. G. Bhandarkar, Bombay, 1895.

[2] *Cf.* Appendix A to V. A. Smith's 'Early History of India,' 1916, Oxford.

[3] The Sanskrit word Nimeṣa (निमेष) means a wink. This story shows an attempt to explain its origin by connecting it with Nimi.

[4] Sanskrit Lit., product of churning.

[5] This obviously belongs to the well-known class of stories created in order to explain existing names. *Cf.* the Greek legend of Hellen and his sons.

Videha[1] and his successors have been known as Vaideha.[2] As Mithi was self-born, he and his successors came to be known as Janaka.[3]

There is much difference as to the derivation of Tirhut, the modern name of Mithilā. The most probable theory is that it is a corruption of Tīra-bhukti, which in Sanskrit means those who live on river banks. This would truly describe the modern Tirhut with its many intersecting rivers.[4] This is the derivation given by the Bṛhad-Viṣṇupurāṇa, which mentions Tīra-bhukti, as one of the 12 names of Mithilā.[5] The word Tirhut occurs for the first time in

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1 Sanskrit Lit., one whose body is gone. The Bhāgawatapurāna and the Bṛhad Viṣṇupurāṇa say that he was doomed to death because he started a Yajña (sacrifice) without consulting his family priest Vaśiṣtha who was thus enraged into cursing him to die.

Cf. Also Vṛhad Viṣṇupurāṇa Mithilā Khaṇḍa.

गौतमो याज्ञवल्क्यश्च विश्वामित्रो भृगुस्तथा। वामदेवोऽसितं करावश्चागस्त्यो भार्गवस्तथा। भारद्वाजोऽथ वाल्मीकिस्ते तत्र समवस्थिताः। शरीरं मन्थनार्थाय सर्वे तत्र समागताः। दृष्ट्वा देह मकलुषं ब्रह्मशापेन संयुतम्। बृहद्विष्णुपुराणे मिथिलाखण्डे पराशरमैत्रेयसम्वादे पुनर्निमेः शरीरस्य मन्थनं मुनिभिः कृतम्। मिथिस्तत्र समुत्पन्नो मिथिला तेन सा भवेत्। तदा प्रभृति तद्वंश्यैः राजधानी निरूपिता॥

2 Sanskrit name=born of Videha.
3 Sanskrita word=Self-born.

The significance of this legendary story is clear. It shows the hold of the priestly class over the Aryan kings. Gotama's priestly family (as we shall see later) came with Māthava from the Saraswatī in the Punjab to Mithilā, but it appears that Vaśiṣtha's family had already established its influence in those parts, and resisted encroachments by other families. The Gotamas had, by the time of Vālmiki, become undisputed priests of the Mithilā Raj family (Janaka) as at the marriage of Rāma and Sītā, Gautama (Sadanand) appeared as priest of Mithilā ruling family (Janaka, father of Sitā) and Vaśiṣtha acted as priest of the king of Oudh (Dasaratha, father of Rama).

This tradition shows that the early Aryans in India were acquainted with the Egyptian process of embalming dead bodies,

4 The Bṛhad-Viṣṇupurāṇa, Mithilā Khaṇḍa mentions the principal rivers of Tirhut as

कौशिकी कमला चैव तथा बिल्ववती मता। यमुना चेति विख्याता भूयसी गैरिका तथा। जलाधिका दुग्धवती तथा व्याघ्रमती मता। विरजा मण्डना चैव तथैवेच्छामतीति च। लक्ष्मणा वाग्वती ख्याता गण्डकीति ततः परा। इति पूर्वक्रमात्प्रोक्तं नदीनामानि दर्शयन्॥ त्रियुगा कमला चेति गण्डकी अधिवारिणी। धूम्राघोषवती चैव वनघोषा च लक्ष्मणा॥ कौशिकीति नव प्रोक्ता सीतासख्यः प्रकीर्त्तिताः। सखीरूपेण क्रीडन्ति जनकस्य गृहे सदा। अंकुची मर्चेबी चैव जंघा जीवायिका तथा। इत्याद्या बहवः सन्ति नद्यो हिमवतोद्भवाः।

5 *Cf.* the Bṛhad Viṣṇupurāṇa, Mithilā Khaṇḍa—

मिथिला, तैरभुक्तिश्च, वैदेही, नैमिकाननम्।
ज्ञानशीलं कृपापीठं, स्वर्णलाङ्गलपद्धतिः।

Tṛkāṇḍa Śeṣa Koṣa (cir. 1200 A.D.)[1] of Puruṣottama Deva "तीरभुक्तिस्तु निच्छविः ।"

The Muhammadan writers of the 12th century have also used the same form.

Paṇḍita Gangānanda Jhā, a Maithila Sanskrit writer of the 17th century A.D., explains in his work Bhṛṅgadūta[2] that Tīra-bhukti is so called because it extends up to the Tīra (bank) of the river Ganges.

It may be interesting to know that at the excavation at Basārha in the Muzaffarpur district (cir. 1903 A.D.)[3] seals were discovered bearing the name Tīra-bhukti and dating back to the 4th century A.D. Some of these seals are attached to letters, addressed to officers, described as being then in charge of Tīra-bhukti. In some letters, however, the word 'Tīra' occurs. This may show that there was probably a locality called 'Tīra' from which probably the name Tīra-bhukti or province of 'Tīra' was derived. This interpretation follows that of Yayakabhukti (modern Bundelkhand).[4] But it is also possible that 'Tīra' was the name of a class of people after whom the country which they inhabited came to be called Tīrabhukti, just as China-bhukti was known after its inhabitants the Chinas (Chinese).[5]

जानकीजन्मभूमिश्च, निरपेक्षा, विकल्मषा ।
रामानन्दकरी, विश्वभावनी, नित्यमङ्गला ॥
इति द्वादश नामानि मिथिलायाः ॥
सदा भुवनसम्पन्नो नदीतीरेषु संस्थितः ।
तीरेषु भुक्तियोगेन तैरभुक्तिरिति स्मृतः ॥

1 As regards the age of Purusottamadeva, Duff assigns Purusottamadeva's 'Tṛkāṇḍa Śeṣa Koṣa' *to the first quarter of the 12th century* (page 147 of the Chronology of India' by C. M. Duff, London, 1899, but Mr. Macdonell brings it down to 1300 A.D. (page 433 of Macdonell's 'History of Sanskrit Literature, 3rd edition, 1914, London, William Heinemann).

2 गङ्गा तीरावधिरधिगता यद्भवो भव्य भुक्तिः ।
नाम्ना सैव त्रिभुवन तले विश्रुता तीरभुक्तिः ॥
भूमिं भित्त्वा समजनि यतो सीरकेतोस्तपस्या ।
वल्ली यस्याममृतफलदा जानकी कैतवेन ॥

3 *Cf.* 'Report on Archæological Survey of India,' 1903-04, pp. 8 to 122.

4 *Cf.* Page 263 and 360 of V. A. Smith's 'Early History of India,' Oxford, 3rd edition.

5 *Cf* page 263 of V. A. Smith's 'Early History of India,' Oxford, 3rd edition. As a matter of fact, a class of fishermen found near riverbanks in Tirhut is called 'Tivara.'

Some modern writers have, however, explained Tirhut as a corruption of Trhutam, i.e. the country of three sacrifices :— (i) the sacrifice at the birth of Jānaki or Sitā who married Rāma (the hero of Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa); (ii) Dhanuṣayajña or the sacrifice on the occasion when the great celestial bow was broken by Rāma; and (iii) the sacrifice in honour of the marriage of Rāma and Sītā.[1]

CHAPTER II.

MITHILĀ IN THE VEDIC AND PAURANIC PERIODS.

Introduction of the Brahmanical culture in Tirhut.

The *Śatpatha Brāhmaṇa*, which is certainly much older than the 5th century B.C.,[2] contains reminiscences of the days when the country of Videha was not yet

[1] *Cf.* Bṛhad Viṣṇu Purāṇa Mithilā Khaṇḍa

माधवे धवले पक्षे नवम्यां यज्ञमारभत् । सुवर्णलाङ्गलमादाय विचकर्ष महीतले ॥ तत्र पुत्री समुत्पन्ना तां तदा स्वगृहमानयत् । जानकी तेन वै नाम्ना विख्याता भुवनत्रये ॥ मार्गशीर्षे सितेपक्षे पञ्चम्यां च शुभे दिने ॥ सीता विवाहिता यत्र रामेण परमात्मना ॥

Janaka was cultivating his land with a golden plough under the advice of the sages, and on the occasion of a dire famine, when his plough struck upon a vessel containing a girl whom he took to his home and adopted as his daughter and who came to be known as Jānaki and Sītā.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 213-15 of Macdonell's 'History of Sanskrit Literature,' London, 1917

Also pp. 31 and 32 of the same work.

The main importance of the old Vedic hymns and formulas came to be considered to be their application to the innumerable details of the sacrifice. Around this combination of sacred verse and rite a new body of doctrines grew up in sacerdotal tradition, and finally assumed definite shape in the guise of distinct theological treatises entitled Brāhmanas, "books dealing with devotion or prayer." They evidently did not come into being till a time when the hymns were already deemed ancient and sacred revelations, the priestly custodians of which no longer fully understood their meaning owing to the change undergone by the language. They are written in prose throughout, and are in some cases accented, like the Vedas themselves. They are thus notable as representing the oldest prose writing of the Indo-European family.

The chief purpose of the Brāhmaṇas is to explain the mutual relation of the sacred text and the ceremonial, as well as their symbolical meaning with reference to each other. As the oldest treatises on ritual practices extant in any literature, they are of great interest to the student of the history of religions in general, besides furnishing much important material to the student of Indian antiquity in particular.

The Brāhmana comes next the Vedas in antiquity and importance. It is the Hindu "Talmud" and was intended mainly for the use of the Brāhmaṇa priests and so Brāhmana has been taken to mean "belonging to" or "for" Brāhmaṇas.

Brahmanised.[1] Thus book I relates a legend in which three stages in the eastward migration of the Āryans can be clearly distinguished. Māthava, the king of Videgha (the older form of Videha) whose family priest was Gauttama Rahugana, resided on the bank of Sarasvati (in the Punjab). *Agni* Vaiśvānara (fire-god—here typical of Brahmanical culture) thence went burning along this earth towards the east, followed by Māthava and his priest, till he came to the river Sadānira (probably the modern Gandaka, which runs into the Ganges near Hajipur), which flows from the northern mountain, and which he did not 'burn over'. Māthava,

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The Śatapatha Brāhmana means the Brāhmana of the 100 paths or parts (rituals or sacrifices).

Cf. Dowson's 'Hindu Classical Dictionary,' p. 60, 1914, also pp. 116-138 of Weber's 'History of Indian Literature,' 1904.

[1] i.e. not yet brought under the influence of the ancient religion of which the *Brāhmanas were the exponents The Brāhmanas, a priestly class or caste, form* the first of the four divisions of the Hindus (i e. Brāhmanas, Kṣatryas, Vaiśyas and Śudras).

Cf. the 'Sathapatha Brāhmana,' Bibliotheca Indica series, No 961, Calcutta, 1901, pp. 258-67.

शतपथब्राह्मणम् ।

प्रथम काण्डम् (४ अ० १ ब्रा०)

घृताच्येति। विदेघो (हो) ह माथ (व) सोऽग्निं वैश्वानरं मुखे बभार तस्य गोतमो राहूगण ऋषिः पुरोहित आस तस्मै ह स्मामन्त्र्यमाणो न प्रतिशृणोति नेन्मेऽग्निर्वैश्वानरो मुखान्निष्पद्याता इति ॥ १० ॥

तमृग्भिर्ह्वयितुं दध्रे। वीतिहोत्रं त्वा कवे द्युमन्तं समिधीमहि अग्ने बृहन्तमध्वरे विदेघेति ॥ ११ ॥

स न प्रतिशुश्राव। उदग्ने शुचयस्तव शुक्रा भ्राजन्त ईरते तव ज्योतींष्यर्चयो विदेघा३ इति ॥ १२ ॥

स ह नैव प्रतिशुश्राव। तं त्वा घृतस्नवीमह इत्येवाभि व्याहरदथास्य घृतकीर्तावेवाग्निर्वैश्वानरो-मुखादुज्जज्वाल तं न शशाक धारयितुं सोऽस्य मुखान्निष्पेदे स इमां पृथिवीं प्रापाद ॥ १३ ॥

तर्हि विदेघो (हो) माथ (व) आस सरस्वत्यां स तत एव प्राङ् दहन्नभीयायेमां पृथिवीं तं गोतमश्च राहूगणो विदेघ (श्च) माथ (व) श्च पश्चाद्दहन्तमन्वीयतुः स इमाः सर्वा नदीरतिददाह। सदानीरेत्युत्तराद्गिरेर्निर्धावति तां हैव नातिददाह तां ह स्म तां पुरा ब्राह्मणा न तरन्त्यनतिदग्धा-ग्निना वैश्वानरेणेति ॥ १४ ॥

तत एतर्हि। प्राचीनं बहवो ब्राह्मणास्तद्धाक्षेत्रतरमिवास स्रावितरमिवास्वदितमग्निना वैश्वानरेणेति ॥ १५ ॥

तदु हैतर्हि क्षेत्रतरमिव ब्राह्मणा उ हि नूनमेनद्यज्ञैरसिष्वदन्त्सापि जघन्ये नैदाघे समिवैव कोपयति तावच्छीतानतिदग्धा ह्यग्निना वैश्वानरेण ॥ १६ ॥

स होवाच। विदेघो (हो) माथ (व) वः क्वाहं भवानीत्यत एव ते प्राचीनं भुवनमिति होवाच। सैषा तर्हि कोसलविदेहानां मर्यादा ते हि माथ (व) वाः ॥ १७ ॥

the Videgha,[1] then said to Agni, "Where am I to abide?" Agni replied, "To the east of this river be thy abode." It is related that the Brāhmaṇas did not cross this river in former times, as the land to the east of Mithilā had not been burnt over by *Agni*. But in course of time Brāhmaṇas caused Agni to taste it by means of Yajñās (i.e. sacrificial rites) and converted a marshy region into a highly cultivated country. It may be noted that this river Sadānīra (Gaṇḍaka) formed the boundary between the ancient Āryan (Hindu) kingdoms of Kośalā (Oudh) and Videha (Mithilā or Tirhut) even during the early period of the composition of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

Civilisation of Tirhut.

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa affords certain clear evidence that the Brahmanical system had extended over Videha (Tirhut). The court of king Janak of Videha was thronged with Brāhmaṇas from the Kuru-Pañcāla[2] country. The tourna-

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अथ होवाच गोतमो राहूगणः कथमु स आमन्त्र्यमाणो न प्रत्यश्रौषीरिति । स होवाचाग्निर्मे वैश्वानरो मुखेऽभूत् स नेन्मे मुखान्निष्पद्याता इति तस्मात्ते न प्रत्यश्रौषमिति ॥ १८ ॥

तदु कथमभूदिति । यत्रैव त्वं घृतस्नवीमहे इत्यभ्यव्याहार्षीस्तदेव मे घृतकीर्तावग्निर्वैश्वानरो मुखादुदज्वालीत्तं नाशकं धारयितुं स मे मुखान्निरपादीति ॥ १९ ॥ इति ॥

[1] It is not quite improbable that this Videha Madhava was the same person as Mithi, *cf*. pp.

Gautam Raghugana is mentioned in the Rig Veda and this would put the colonisation of Mithilā by the Aryan races during the period of the Rig Veda, *cf*. Hymn LXXIV-LXXXII, Vol. I (Hymns of the Rig Veda by Griffith, 1896).

[2] The country of the Kurus, called Kurukṣetra, as specifically the holy land of the Yajurvedas and of the Brāhmanas attached to them. It lay in the plain between the Sutlej and the Jamuna, beginning with the tract bounded by the two small rivers, Dṛṣadvati and Sarasvatī, and extending south-eastwards to the Jamuna. It corresponds to the modern districts of Sirhind and Thaneśvara in the Punjab, and is a plain near Delhi, south east of Thaneśvara, not far from Panipata, the scene of many battles in later days. Closely connected with, and eastward of this region, was situated the land of the Pañcālas, which, running south-east from the Meerut district to Allahabad, embraces the territory between the Jamuna and the Ganges called the Doab. Kurukṣetra was the country in which the Brāhmanic religious and social system was developed, and from which it spread over the rest of India. It claims a further historical interest as being in later times the scene of the conflict, described in the Mahābhārata, between the Pañcālas and Matśyas on the one hand and the Kurus, including the ancient Brāhmaṇas, on the other. In the famous law book of Manu the land of the Kurus is still regarded with veneration as the special home of Brāhmaṇism, and as such is designated Brahmavarta. Together with the country of Pañcālas, and that of their neighbours to the south of the Jamuna, the Matsyas (with Mathura, now Muttra, as their capital) and the Surasenas, it is spoken of as the land of Brāhmaṇa sages, where the bravest warriors and the most pious priests live, and the customs and usages of which are authoritative.

As regards the "Pañcāla" it would seem from the Mahābhārata to have occupied the lower Doab; Manu places it near Kanauj It has sometimes been identified with the Panjab, and with "a little territory in the more immediate

ments of argument which were there held form a prominent feature in the later books of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣada). The hero of these is Yājñavalkya, who, himself a pupil of Aruṇi, is regarded as the chief spiritual authority in the Brāhmaṇa.[1] The innumerable references to Yājñavalkya and Mithilā, together render it highly probable that Yājñavalkya was a native of Videha. The fact that its leading authority, who, thus, appears to have belonged to this eastern country, is represented as conquering the most distinguished teachers of the west in argument, points to the redaction of the White Yayurveda having taken place in this eastern region.

King Janaka was renowned for his munificence all over India and kings of distant countries used to be envious of him.[2]

Anecdotes about Yājñavalkya in Vedic literature.

The Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad[3] contains many interesting episodes. One of these is that king Janaka commenced *Aśvamedha Yajña* (i.e. horse sacrifice) which attracted Brāhmaṇas from distant countries like the Panjab. He sought to know who was the wisest man in the sacred assembly. He tethered a thousand cows with gold-covered horns to be presented to the man who proved himself, to be the wisest, and Yājñavalkya, who defeated all other Paṇḍitas won all the cows[4] and became Guru (preceptor) of the king.

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neighbourhood of Hastinapur." Wilson says, "A country extending north and west from Delhi, from the foot of the Himalayas to the Chambal." It was divided into Northern and Southern Pañcālas, and the Ganges separated them. Cunningham considers North Pañcāla to be Rohilkhaṇḍa, and South Pañcāla the Gangetic Doab. The capital of the former was Ahi-chatra, identical with the modern Kampila, on the old Ganges between Badaun and Farrukhabada.

Cf. pp. 172 and 226 of Dowson's 'Hindu Classical Dictionary,' London, 1914.
Cf. pp. 174-75 of Macdonell's 'Sanskrit Literature,' London, 1917.
Also p. XLI of 'Sacred Books of the East,' Vol. XII, 1882.

1 Excepting Books VI-X.
Also *cf.* Rapson's 'Ancient India,' 1916, p. 57.

2 *Cf.* Bṛahadaraṇyaka Upaniṣad, ch. 2, Brahmaṇ 1 śloka 1 (Bombay 1914).

ॐ॥ दृप्तबालाकिर्हानूचानो गार्ग्य आस स होवाचाजातशत्रुं काश्यं ब्रह्म ते ब्रवाणीति स होवाचाजातशत्रुः सहस्रमेतस्यां वाचि दद्मो जनको जनक इति वै जना धावन्तीति॥

3 The last book of *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, which consists of 14 books forms the Aranyaki, the 6 concluding chapters of which form the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad.*

4 *Cf.* Bṛhadāranyakopaniṣada, 3rd Adhyāya, 1st Brahmaṇa.

जनकोह वैदेहो बहुदक्षिणेन यज्ञेनेजे, तत्राह कुरु पञ्चालानां ब्राह्मणा अभि समेता

Learned women of Mithilā in Vedic literature.

The Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣada is full of the sage Yājñavalkya's discourses. The dialogues on highly philosophical subjects between Maitreyī and Yājñavalkya and that between Yājñavalkya and Gārgī[1] at Janaka's court point

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बभूवुस्तस्य ह जनकस्य वैदेहस्य विजिज्ञासा बभूव, कः स्विदेषां ब्राह्मणानांम नूचानतम इति मह गवां सहस्रमवरोध दश दश पादा एकैकस्याः शृङ्गयोराबद्धा बभूवुः ॥

Also

तान्होवाच ब्राह्मणा भगवन्तो यो वो ब्रह्मिष्ठः स एता गा उदजतामिति । ते ह ब्राह्मणा न दधृषुरथ ह याज्ञवल्क्यः स्वमेव ब्रह्मचारिणमुवाचैताः सोम्योदज सामश्रवा ३ इति ता होदाचकार ते ह ब्राह्मणाश्चक्रुधुः कथं नो ब्रह्मिष्ठो ब्रुवीतेत्यथ ह जनकस्य वैदेहस्य होताऽश्वलो बभूव स हैनं पप्रच्छ त्वं नु खलु नो याज्ञवल्क्य ब्रह्मिष्ठोऽसी ३ इति स होवाच नमो वयं ब्रह्मिष्ठाय कुर्मो गोकामा एव वयं स्म इति तं ह तत एव प्रष्टुं दध्रे होताऽश्वलः ॥ २ ॥

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Cf. pp. 390 to 403, Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad, Bombay, 1914.
Also *cf.* Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad, 4th Adhyāya, 4th Brāhmaṇa, p. 690.

तदेतदृचाऽभ्युक्तम् । एष नित्यो महिमा ब्राह्मणस्य न वर्धते कर्मणा नो कनीयान् । तस्यैव स्यात्पदवित्तं विदित्वा न लिप्यते कर्मणा पापकेनेति । तस्मादेवंविच्छान्तो दान्त उपरतस्तितिक्षुः समाहितो भूत्वाऽऽत्मन्येवाऽऽत्मानं पश्यति सर्वमात्मानं पश्यति नैनं पाप्मा तरति सर्वं पाप्मानं तरति नैनं पाप्मा तपति सर्वं पाप्मानं तपति विपापो विरजोऽविचिकित्सो ब्राह्मणो भवत्येष ब्रह्मलोकः सम्राडेनं प्रापितोऽसीति होवाच याज्ञवल्क्यः सोऽहं भगवते विदेहान्ददामि मां चापि सह दास्ययेति ॥ २३ ॥

[1] *Cf.* Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣada, 2nd Ādhyāya, 4th Brāhmaṇam, pp. 341-60.

मैत्रेयीति होवाच याज्ञवल्क्य उद्यास्यन्वा अरेऽहमस्मात्स्थानादस्मि हन्त तेऽनया कात्यायन्याऽन्तं करवाणीति ॥ १ ॥

सा होवाच मैत्रेयी । यन्नु म इयं भगोः सर्वा पृथिवी वित्तेन पूर्णा स्यात्कथं तेनामृता स्यामिति नेति होवाच याज्ञवल्क्यो यथैवोपकरणवतां जीवितं तथैव ते जीवितं स्यादमृतत्वस्य तु नाऽऽशाऽस्ति वित्तेनेति ॥ २ ॥

सा होवाच मैत्रेयी येनाहं नामृता स्यां किमहं तेन कुर्यां यदेव भगवान्वेद तदेव मे ब्रूहीति ॥ ३ ॥

स होवाच याज्ञवल्क्यः प्रिया बतारे नः सती प्रियं भाषस एह्यास्स्व व्याख्यास्यामि ते व्याचक्षाणस्य तु मे निदिध्यासस्वेति ॥ ४ ॥

Yājñavalkya had two wives Maitrey and Kātyayanī.
For the discussion with Gārgī. *Cf.* Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad, 3rd Adhyāya, 6th Brāhmaṇam, pp. 465-66.

अथ हैनं गार्गी वाचक्नवी पप्रच्छ याज्ञवल्क्येति होवाच यदिदं सर्वमप्स्वोतं च प्रोतं च कस्मिन्नु खल्वाप ओताश्च प्रोताश्चेति वायौ गार्गीति कस्मिन्नु खलु वायुरोतश्च प्रोतश्चेत्यन्तरिक्षलोकेषु गार्गीति कस्मिन्नु खल्वन्तरिक्षलोका ओताश्च प्रोताश्चेति गन्धर्वलोकेषु गार्गीति कस्मिन्नु खलु गन्धर्वलोका ओताश्च प्रोताश्चेत्यादित्यलोकेषु गार्गीति कस्मिन्नु खल्वादित्यलोका ओताश्च प्रोताश्चेति चन्द्रलोकेषु गार्गीति कस्मिन्नु खलु चन्द्रलोका ओताश्च प्रोताश्चेति नक्षत्रलोकेषु गार्गीति कस्मिन्नु

to the great erudition of Mithilā women of those days and show that even in the Vedic period Mithilā was famous for Sanskrit learning and that even the women of the country could discuss philosophy with learned Ṛṣis (sages) of those days.

The author of the Mitākṣarā law was a native of Mithilā.

It is well known that this Yājñavalkya, son of Devaratha, is the author of the Smṛti known after him. The Yājñavalkya[1] Smṛti says, "मिथिलास्थः स योगीन्द्रः क्षणं ध्यात्वा[2]

खलु नक्षत्रलोका ओताश्च प्रोताश्चेति देवलोकेषु गार्गीति कस्मिन्नु खलु देवलोका ओताश्च प्रोताश्चेतीन्द्र लोकेषु गार्गीति कस्मिन्नु खल्विन्द्रलोका ओताश्च प्रोताश्चेति प्रजापतिलोकेषु गार्गीति कस्मिन्नु खलु प्रजापतिलोका ओताश्च प्रोताश्चेति ब्रह्मलोकेषु गार्गीति कस्मिन्नु खलु ब्रह्मलोका ओताश्च प्रोताश्चेति स होवाच गार्गिमाऽति प्राक्षीर्मा ते मूर्धा व्यपप्तदनति प्रश्न्यां वै देवतामति पृच्छसि गार्गि माऽति प्राक्षीरिति ततो ह गार्गी वाचक्नव्युपरराम ॥ १ ॥

Also *cf.* 3rd Adhyāya, 8th Brāhmaṇam, pp. 478-91.

अथ ह वाचक्नव्युवाच ब्राह्मणा भगवन्तो हन्ताहमिमं द्वौ प्रश्नौ प्रक्ष्यामि तौ चेन्मे वक्ष्यति न जातु युष्माकमिमं कश्चिद्ब्रह्मोद्यं जेतेति पृच्छ गार्गीति ॥ १ ॥

सा होवाचाहं वै त्वा याज्ञवल्क्य यथा काश्यो वा वैदेहो वोग्रपुत्र उज्ज्यं धनुरधिज्यं कृत्वा द्वौ बाणवन्तौ सपत्नातिव्याधिनौ हस्ते कृत्वोपोत्तिष्ठेदेवमेवाहं त्वा द्वाभ्यां प्रश्नाभ्यामुपोदस्थां तौ मे ब्रूहीति पृच्छ गार्गीति ॥ २ ॥

Also *cf.* Rapson's 'Ancient India,' 1916, p. 63.

[1] Yājñavalkya was a disciple of Vaiśampayana who was a disciple of Vyāsa. But he incurred Vaiśampayana's displeasure and was asked to give up the "Yayurveda" he had learnt from him. He obeyed his preceptor and the "Veda" given up by him was picked up by other disciples of Vaiśampâyana (who transformed themselves into "Tittiris" i.e. partridges, birds, for the purpose) and came to be known as "Taittiriya Yayurveda Śākhā." Thereupon Yājñavalkya meditated upon the sun and acquired fresh lore (the Śukla Yayurveda Mādhyāndinīyā Sākhā) and became a Yogi.

[2] *Cf.* Yājñavalkya Smṛti, 3rd Adhyāya, Sloka No. 100.

ज्ञेयं चारण्यकमहं यदादित्यादवाप्तवान्। योगशास्त्रञ्च मत्प्रोक्तं ज्ञेयं योगमभीप्सता ॥

पुनर्याज्ञवल्क्यस्य सूर्याद्विद्याप्राप्तिः विष्णु पु० अं० ३ अ० ५ ।

Cf. also the Viṣṇupurāṇa.

(पराशरउवाच) यजुर्वेदतरोः-शाखाः सप्तविंशन्महामुनिः। वैशम्पायननामासौ व्यासशिष्यश्चकार वै ॥ शिष्येभ्यः प्रददौ ताश्च जगृहुस्तेऽप्यनुक्रमात् ॥

याज्ञवल्क्यस्तु तत्राभूद्ब्रह्मरातसुतो द्विजः। शिष्यः परमधर्मज्ञो गुरुवृत्तिपरः सदा। "ऋषिर्योऽद्य महामेरोः समाजेनागमिष्यति। तस्य वै सप्तरात्रात्तु ब्रह्महत्या भविष्यति"। पूर्वमेवं मुनिगणैः समयो यः कृतो द्विज। वैशम्पायन एकस्तु तं व्यतिक्रान्तवांस्तदा ॥ स्वस्रीयं बालकं सोऽथ पदास्पृष्टमघातयत्। शिष्यानाह स भोः शिष्याः ब्रह्महत्यापहं व्रतम् चरध्वं मत्कृते सर्वे न विचार्यमिदं तथा। अथाह याज्ञवल्क्यस्तु किमेभिर्भगवन् द्विजैः। क्लेशितैरल्पतेजोभिश्चरिष्येऽहमिदं व्रतम् ॥ ततः क्रुद्धो गुरुः प्राह याज्ञवल्क्यं महामुनिम् मुच्यतांयत्त्वयाधीतं मत्तो विप्रावमानक। निस्तेजसो वदस्येनान्यस्त्वं ब्राह्मणपुंगवान् तेन शिष्येण नार्थोऽस्ति ममाज्ञाभङ्गकारिणा १० याज्ञ-

ब्रवीन्मुनीन्" (i.e. he became a *Muni* (sage) after meditating only for a moment).

This Yājñavalkya Smṛti is the foundation of the

वल्क्यस्ततः प्राह भक्त्यैतत्ते मयोदितम्। ममाप्यलं त्वयाधीतं यन्मया तदिदं द्विज। (प० उ०) इत्युक्तो रुधिराक्तानि सरूपाणि यजूंषि सः। छर्दयित्वा ददौ तस्मै ययौ स स्वेच्छया मुनिः॥

यजूंष्यथ विसृष्टानि याज्ञवल्क्येन वै द्विज। जगृहुस्तित्तिरा भूत्वा तैत्तिरीयास्तु ते ततः॥

ब्रह्महत्याव्रतं चीर्णं गुरुणा चोदितैस्तु तैः। चरकाध्वर्यवस्तेऽत्र चरणान्मुनिसत्तम॥

याज्ञवल्क्योऽपि मैत्रेय प्राणायामपरायणः। तुष्टाव प्रयतः सूर्यं यजूंष्यभिलषंस्ततः॥

(प०उ०) इत्येवमादिभिस्तेन स्तूयमानः स वै रविः। वाजिरूपधरः प्राह व्रियतामिति वाञ्छितम्॥

याज्ञवल्क्यस्तदा प्राह प्रणिपत्य दिवाकरम्। यजूंषि तानि मे देहि यानि सन्ति न मे गुरौ॥

(प०उ०) एवमुक्तो ददौ तस्मै यजूंषि भगवान्रविः। अयातयामसंज्ञानि यानि वेत्ति न तद्गुरुः॥

यजूंषि यैरधीतानि तानि विप्रैर्द्विजोत्तम। वाजिनस्ते समाख्याताः सूर्योऽप्यश्वो भवेद्यतः॥

तथा च वाजिना (अश्वरूपधरेण सूर्येण) प्रोक्तमधीयाना ब्राह्मणा अपि वाजिनः। "प्रोक्ताल्लुक्" इति प्रोक्तार्थप्रत्ययात्तदध्येतरि लुक्। प्रोक्तार्थस्यापि लुक्छान्दसः॥ याज्ञवल्क्यस्य वाजसनेय संज्ञाप्यस्ति। तत्कारणन्तु याज्ञवल्क्यस्य पिता ब्रह्मरातो नाम स च कुलपतिरसंख्याताान् ब्राह्मणानन्यांश्चान्नदानेन पुपोषेति स वाजसनिः वाजोऽन्नं सनिर्दानं यस्य सः। तस्य पुत्रो वाजसनेयः। ढक्। ढस्येयः। तेन प्रोक्तमधीयाना ब्राह्मणादयो वाजसनेयिन उच्यन्ते॥

But also *cf.* the Skanda Purāṇa, Nāgara khaṇḍa, 129th Adhāya where Yajña-valkya is stated to have been a priest at the Court of Supriya, Rājā of "Nāgara" and where he is said to have given up the "Yayurveda" at the instance of his Guru Śākalya and not Vaiśampāyana. It would appear from this account that he came to Mithilā to Janaka's Court after leaving "Nāgara."

This place or city "Nāgara" has been identified with the ruins of an ancient city extending over about 4 miles in the Jayapore Estate, 25 miles to the south-south-east of Tonki, and 45 miles to the north and north-east of Bundi—*Cf.* A. C. L. Carlleyle, in Cunningham's report on the Archæological Survey of India, Volume VI, pp 161-2; also there is another old city some 11 miles north of "Chitore" called "Nāgari" or "Tambavati Nagari"—*Cf.* Cunningham A S.R., Vol. XIV, page 146; also *cf.* Weber's 'History of Indian Literature,' p. 104, 1904, and also the footnote.

Skanda Purāṇa, Nāgara khaṇḍa—

याज्ञवल्क्याश्रम स्कान्दे नागरखण्डे अ १२९ Sambat 1966, Bombay.

हाटकेश्वरक्षेत्रमाहात्म्योपक्रमे-आसीद्ब्राह्मणशार्दूलः शाकल्य इति विश्रुतः। भार्गवान्वयसम्भूतो वेदवेदाङ्गपारगः ५ इहत्कल्पे पुरा विप्रा वर्द्धमाने पुरोत्तमे। बहुशिष्यसमायुक्तो वेदाध्ययनतत्परः। १६ इत्यादि।

(स्क० उ०) तथान्योऽपि च तत्रास्ति याज्ञवल्क्यसमुद्भवः। आश्रमो लोकविख्यातो मूर्खाणामपि सिद्धिदः। यत्र तप्त्वा तपस्तीव्रं याज्ञवल्क्येन धीमता। सम्प्राप्ता निखिला वेदा गुरुणापहृताश्च ये। अस्य गुरुः भार्गवान्वयसम्भूतः शाकल्य आसीत् स हि सूर्यवंशीयस्य सुप्रियस्य राज्ञः पुरोहितः वर्द्धमानपुरे न्यवसत् (नागरदेशे) स प्रत्यहं शान्त्युदकं राज्ञे शिष्यहस्तेन प्रयच्छति स्म। एकदा राजान्तिकं गन्तुं याज्ञवल्क्यः, शान्त्युदकहस्तः प्रहितः। (अयं पूर्वजन्मनि ब्रह्मासीत् वैवाहिके काले वेधा गतस्य शम्भोर्निन्द्यरेत प्रहसन्ब्रह्मा तेन शप्तो मानवोऽभवदित्यपि अत्रैवाख्यायते) याज्ञवल्क्यो वेश्यासङ्गात्कालत्वेऽपि विचरती राजनिकटं गतस्तेन चावज्ञायोक्तः "उच्छिष्टोऽहं द्विजश्रेष्ठ शय्यारूढो विस्मिताः। अत्र शालोद्भवे स्तम्भे तस्मादेतज्जलं क्षिपेत्युक्तोऽ यन्मया क्षत्वाऽऽगतः। स्तम्भस्य तत्क्षणे सपल्लवोऽ

Mitākṣarā law on civil usage (expounded by Vijñāneswara[1], who flourished at the court of king Vikrama) which is respected and followed so widely in India[2].

A later king of this dynasty, called Sīradhwaja Janaka, had his capital at Mithilā[3] which is identified with the

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भवत्। तद्दृष्ट्वा तदीयं प्रभावचुब्धान्तरङ्गो राजा शाकल्यशिष्यस्समाह मामप्यभिषेकजलं प्रयच्छेति। अनुतापिनमप्यवज्ञाकारिणस्त्वं ममाभिषेकस्याहीं नासीति प्रत्याख्याय गुर्वन्तिकमागतः। द्वितीय-दिने तमेव शान्त्युदकवस्तप्रहितुं शाकल्यो राज्ञाभिहितो याज्ञवल्क्यान्तथा कर्त्तुमाह। स नाङ्गी-चकार क्रुद्धेन गुरुणाऽथर्वणेन मन्त्रेणाभिमन्त्रितं जलं पानाय दत्त्वा मद्दत्तां विद्यां प्रयच्छे-त्यभिहितो याज्ञवल्क्य स्तथाकृत्वा सूर्यंसवाय सर्वामुद्वाम, गत्वा च हाटकेश्वरे तपस्तेपे। तद्दत्तवरो वेदांस्तदुपदिष्टोपायेन लब्धवान्। ततश्च एवं सिद्धिसमापन्नो याज्ञवल्क्यो द्विजोत्तमः। छन्दोपनिषद् चारवेदार्थैः सकलैर्युतम्। जनकाय नरेन्द्राय व्याख्याय च ततः परम्। कात्यायनं सुतं प्राप्य वेदसूत्रस्य कारकम्। त्यक्त्वा कलेवरं तत्र ब्रह्मद्वारि विनिर्मिते। तत्तेजो ब्रह्मणो गात्रे योजयामास शक्तिमान् इति।

[1] It cannot be said for certain that this Vijñānesvara who lived at Kalyana (in Bombay) was a Maithila. The following last śloka from Mitākṣarā is significant:—

नासीदस्ति भविष्यति क्षितितले कल्याणकल्पं पुरम्।
नो दृष्टः श्रुत एव वा क्षितिपतिः श्रीविक्रमार्कोपमः।
विज्ञानेश्वरपण्डितो न भजते किञ्चान्यदन्योपमः।
आकल्पं स्थिरमस्तु कल्पलतिका कल्पतदेतत् त्रयम्॥

[2] But it may be noted here that it is curious that this Mitāksarā did not find favour with Bengal where Dāyabhāga prevails. *Cf.* pages 428-36 of Macdonell's 'History of Sanskrit Literature,' London, 1905.

[3] *Cf.* Vālmiki's 'Ramāyaṇa,' Bombay, 1911, by T. R. Kṛṣṇacaryya and Vyásacaryya.

अथ रामस्यायोध्यातो विश्वामित्रेण सह मिथिलायै प्रस्थानम्।

वाल्मीकीयरामायणे बालकाण्डे सर्गे २२ अयोध्यातः प्रस्थानानन्तरम् "अध्यर्द्धयोजनं गत्वा सरय्वा दक्षिणे तटे..बलामतिबलाञ्चैव सर्वज्ञानस्य मातरौ॥..प्रतिजग्राह ते विद्ये महर्षेर्भावितात्मनः..ऊषुस्तां रजनीं तत्र सरय्वां सुसुखं त्रयः॥ (२३ स०) प्रभातायान्तु शर्वर्यां..गमनायाभितस्थतुः ४ तौ प्रयान्तौ महावीर्यौ दिव्यां त्रिपथगां नदीम् ददृशाते ततस्तत्र सरय्वाः सङ्गमे शुभे। तत्राश्रमपदं पुण्यमृषीणां भवितात्मनाम्॥..ततः कस्यायमाश्रमः पुण्यः को न्वस्मिन्वसते पुमान् इतिप्रश्ने कन्दर्पोमूर्त्तिमानासीत्काम इत्युच्यते बुधैः। तपस्यन्तमिह स्थाणुं नियमेन समाहितम्।.. तस्यायमाश्रमः पुण्यस्तस्येमे मुनयः पुरा। शिष्या धर्मपरा वीर तेषां पापन्न विद्यते। इहाद्य रजनीं राम वसेम शुभदर्शन। पुण्ययोः सरितोर्मध्ये श्वस्तरिष्यामहे वयम्। (सर्ग २४)।

ततः प्रभाते विमले कृताह्निकमरिन्दमौ। विश्वामित्रं पुरस्कृत्य नद्यास्तीरमुपागतौ..ततार सहितस्ताभ्यां सरितं सागरंगमाम्।..ततः सङ्गमशब्दमाकर्ण्य तत्कारणे पृष्ठे विश्वामित्रेण सूक्तौ बधितौ रामलक्ष्मणौ ताभ्यान्तु तावुभौ कृत्वा प्रणाममतिधार्मिकौ। तीरन्दक्षिणमासाद्य जग्मतुर्लघुविक्रमौ। स वनं घोरसंकाशं दृष्ट्वा नरवरात्मजः। अविप्रहतमैक्ष्वाकः पप्रच्छ मुनिपुङ्गवम्। अहो वनमिदं दुर्गं झिल्लिकागणसंयुतम्।....सङ्कीर्णं बदरीभिश्च किन्विदं दारुणं वनम्। तमुवाच महातेजा विश्वामित्रो महामुनिः॥ श्रूयतां वत्स काकुत्स्थ यस्यैतद्दारुणं वनम्। एतौ जनपदौ

स्फीतौ पूर्वमास्तां नरोत्तम १७ मलदाश्च करूषाश्च देवनिर्माणनिर्म्मितौ। इत्युपक्रम्य अत्र ताडकाया निवासमुक्त्वा तद्वधं चोपदिश्य रामेण तथानुष्ठिते प्रसन्नेन विश्वामित्रेणास्त्रग्रामः ससंहारो रामेऽर्पितः। पुनश्च

"किमेतन्मेघसंकाशं पर्वतस्याविदूरतः। वृक्षखण्डमितो भाति परं कौतूहलं हि मे॥ दर्शनीयं मृगाकीर्णं मनोहरमतीव च" इति विश्वामित्रो रामेण पृष्ट आह

"इह राम महाबाहो विष्णुर्देवनमस्कृतः। वर्षाणि सुबहूनीह तथा युगशतानि च॥
तपश्चरणयोगार्थमुवास सुमहातपाः। एष पूर्वाश्रमो राम वामनस्य महात्मनः॥
सिद्धाश्रम इति ख्यातः सिद्धो ह्यत्र महातपाः।" इत्येवं निर्दिश्य निजाश्रमं प्रापितौ॥

अथ सिद्धाश्रम् (विश्वामित्राश्रम) तो रामस्य मिथिलाप्रस्थानम्।

(सर्ग ३१) मैथिलस्य नरश्रेष्ठ जनकस्य भविष्यति। यज्ञः परमधर्म्मिष्ठस्तत्र यास्यामहे वयम् त्वञ्चैव नरशार्दूल सहास्माभिर्गमिष्यसि। अद्भुतञ्च धनूरत्नं तत्र त्वं द्रष्टुमर्हसि।

एवमुक्त्वा मुनिवरः प्रस्थानमकरोत्तदा। सर्षिसङ्घः सकाकुत्स्थ आमन्त्र्य वनदेवताः॥
स्वस्ति वोऽस्तु गमिष्यामि सिद्धः सिद्धाश्रमादहम्। उत्तरे जाह्नवीतीरे हिमवन्तं शिलोच्चयम्॥
इत्युक्त्वा मुनिशार्दूलः कौशिकः स तपोनिधिः। उत्तरां दिशमुद्दिश्य प्रस्थातुमुपचक्रमे॥
तं व्रजन्तं मुनिवरमन्वगादनुसारिणाम्। शकटीशतमात्रन्तु प्रमाणे ब्रह्मवादिनाम्॥ १७
मृगपक्षिगणाश्चैव सिद्धाश्रमनिवासिनः। अनुजग्मुर्महात्मानो विश्वामित्रं तपोधनम्
निवर्त्तयामास ततः सर्षिसङ्घः सपक्षिणः। ते गत्वा दूरमध्वानं लम्बमाने दिवाकरे॥
वासञ्चक्रुर्मुनिगणाः शोणकूले समाहिताः। तेऽस्तंगते दिनकरे स्नात्वा हुतहुताशनाः॥
विश्वामित्रं पुरस्कृत्य निषेदुरमितौजसः ततो रामेण

"भगवन्कोन्वयं देशः समृद्धवनशोभितः।
श्रोतुमिच्छामि भद्रन्ते वक्तुमर्हसि तत्त्वतः॥"

इत्यादिना शोणकूलवैभव प्रश्ने महंशनामयंदेश इति विश्वामित्रः प्राह (३२)

तत्र ब्रह्मपुत्रस्य कुशस्य कुशाम्बादयश्चत्वारः पुत्राः। तत्र कुशाम्बुना कौशाम्बीपुरी निर्म्मिता। द्वितीयस्य कुशनामस्य कन्याशतमासीत् ताश्च वायुना धर्षिताः कुब्जीकृताश्चूलीतिख्यातस्यर्षेर्मानस-पुत्रेण ब्रह्मदत्तेन ता उदूढाः। स एष कुशनाभोराज कन्यकुब्जनाम्नाख्यातः। यस्य विषयः (देशः) कान्यकुब्जः। कुशनामस्य गाधिनामापुत्रोऽभवद्यस्य पुत्रो विश्वामित्रः। स एष कुशवंशप्रसूतत्वात्कौशिकः। अस्य पूर्वजा भगिनी सत्यवती ऋचीकस्य पत्नी पत्या सह सशरीरं दिवंगता। योगबलेन च (काय व्यूहकल्पनया) कौशिकी नदी च जाता। हिमवतः साप्रवृत्तेति लोकहितार्थं भगिन्याः स्नेहेन च विश्वामित्रस्य तत्र नियतो वास आसीत् पश्चात्तपः सिद्ध्यर्थं सिद्धाश्रमे संप्राप्तः तथा च।

"अहं हि नियमाद्राम हित्वा तां समुपागतः। सिद्धाश्रममनुप्राप्तः सिद्धोऽहं तव तेजसा १२ (सर्ग ३४)।

एवं कथयन्तस्ते शोणाकूले रात्रिशेषं निन्युः। ततः

"उपास्य रात्रिशेषन्तु शोणकूले महर्षिभिः। निशायां सुप्रभातायां विश्वामित्रोऽभ्यभाषत।
..अयंशोणः शुभजलोगाधः पुलिनमण्डितः। कतरेण पथा ब्रह्मन्संतरिष्यामहे वयम् ४
एवमुक्तस्तु रामेण विश्वामित्रोऽब्रवीदिदम्। एष पन्था मयोद्दिष्टो येन यान्ति महर्षयः ५
ते गत्वा दूरमध्वानं गतेऽर्धदिवसे तदा। जाह्नवीं सरितां श्रेष्ठां ददृशुर्मुनिसेविताम् ६
तां दृष्ट्वा पुण्यसलिलां हंससारससेविताम्। बभूवुर्मुनयः सर्वे मुदिताः सह राघवाः ७
तस्यास्तीरे तदा सर्वे चक्रुर्वास परिग्रहम्। .. .. .. (स० ४५)

village of Janakapura (in the Nepal territory to the north-east of Muzaffarpur frontier). Rāma, son of Dasaratha, the king of Ayodhya, married Sīradhwaja Janaka's daughter,

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ततः प्रभाते विमले विश्वामित्रन्तपोधनम् । उवाच राघवो वाक्य कृताह्निकमरिन्दमः ।
गता भगवतीरात्रिः श्रोतव्य परमाश्रुतम् । तरामसरितां श्रेष्ठां पुण्यां त्रिपथगां नदीम् ॥
नौरेषाहि सुखास्तीर्णा ऋषीणां पुण्यकर्मणाम् । भगवन्तमिह प्राप्त ज्ञात्वा त्वरितमागता ॥
तस्य तद्वचनं श्रुत्वा राघवस्य महात्मनः । सन्तारं कारयामास सर्षिसंघस्य कौशिकः ॥
उत्तरन्तीरमासाद्य सम्पूज्यर्षिगणन्ततः । गङ्गाकूलेनिविष्टास्ते विशालान्ददृशुः पुरीम् ।
ततो मुनिवरस्तूर्णं जगाम सह राघवः । विशालां नगरीं रम्यां दिव्यांस्वर्गोपमांतदा ॥

अथ विशालानामकरणम् ।

"इक्ष्वाकोस्तु नरव्याघ्र पुत्रः परमधार्मिकः । अलांबुसायामुत्पन्नो विशाल इति विश्रुतः ।
तेन चासीदिह स्थाने विशालेति पुरीकृता" इति
"ततः परमसत्कारं सुमतेः प्राप्यराघवौ । उष्यतत्रनिशामेकां जग्मतुर्मिथिलान्ततः ।
तां दृष्ट्वा मुनयः सर्वे जनकस्य पुरीं शुभाम् । साधु साध्विति शंसन्तो मिथिलां समपूजयन् ।

अथ गौतमाश्रम वृत्तान्तः ।

मिथिलोपवने तत्र आश्रमं दृश्य राघवः । पुराणं निर्जनं रम्यं पप्रच्छ मुनिपुङ्गवम् ॥
इदमाश्रमसंकाशं किंन्विदं मुनिवर्जितम् । श्रोतुमिच्छामि भगवन्कस्यायं पूर्वआश्रमः ॥
(विश्वामित्र आह)
गौतमस्य मुनिश्रेष्ठ पूर्वमासीन्महात्मनः । आश्रमो दिव्यसंकाशः सुरैरपि सुपूजितः ॥
स चात्र तप आतिष्ठदहल्या सहितः पुरा । वर्षपूगान्यनेकानि राजपुत्र महायशः ।
अत्र मुनिवेषधरेणेन्द्रेणाहल्याधर्षणानन्तरं गौतम इन्द्रं शप्त्वाऽहल्यां शशाप ।
"तथा शप्त्वा च वै शक्रं भार्यामपि च शप्तवान् । इह वर्षसहस्राणि बहूनि निवसिष्यसि ॥
वातभक्षा निराहारा तप्यन्ती भस्मशायिनी । अदृश्या सर्वभूतानामाश्रमेऽस्मिन्वसिष्यसि ॥
यदा त्वेतद्वनं घोरं रामोदशरथात्मजः । आगमिष्यति दुर्धर्षस्तदापूता भविष्यसि ॥
तस्यातिथ्येन दुर्वृत्ते लोभमोहविवर्जिता । मत्सकाशं मुदायुक्ता स्वं वपुर्धारयिष्यसि ॥
(स० ४९) "तदागच्छमहातेज आश्रम पुण्यकर्मणः ।
तारयैनांमहाभागामहल्यां देवरूपिणीम्"
विश्वामित्र वचः श्रुत्वा राघवः सह लक्ष्मणः । विश्वामित्रं पुरस्कृत्य आश्रमं प्रविवेशह ॥
..गौतमोऽपि महातेजा अहल्यासहितः सुखी । रामं सम्पूज्य विधिवत्तपस्तेपे महातपाः ।
रामोऽपि परमां पूजां गौतमस्य महामुनेः । सकाशाद्विधिवत्प्राप्य जगाम मिथिलान्ततः ॥
ततः प्रागुत्तरां गत्वा रामः सौमित्रिणा सह । विश्वामित्रं पुरस्कृत्य यज्ञवाटमुपागमत् ॥
(ततः गौतमाश्रमात्) (प्रागुत्तराम् ऐशानीम्) (यज्ञवाटं सीताजन्मस्थानम्)

The above ślokas from Vālmikī will show that Janaka's capital was situated to the north-east of Gautama's hermitage to which Rāma came from Viśālāpurī. It is now certain that Viśālā or Viśālī is represented by modern Basarh and that no place in Mithilā claims the honour of Gautama's hermitage except Ahiyarī (Ahilyā Sthāna) in Darbhanga district. Thus Janaka's capital has been rightly identified with Janakapura, which lies to the north-east of Ahiyāri. This identity is supported by all ancient, popular and mythological traditions.

Also *cf* Rapson's 'Ancient India,' pp. 72 and 174, 1916.
Also *cf*. Apte's 'Sanskrit English Dictionary,' Bombay, 1890, p. 1047.

Sītā, in accordance with the custom of Swayambara. Vālmikī, who was a contemporary of Rāma,[1] names 22 kings[2] of Mithilā.

Mithilā in the Mahābhārat.

It may be of interest to recall that among those who fought for Duryodhana against the five Pāṇdava brothers and Kṛṣṇa in the war described in the Mahābhārat (Cr. 500 B.C.)[3] there was a Rājā called *Kṣemadhūrti*.[4] He, it may be taken, was the

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1 *Cf.* pp. 301-09 of Macdonell's 'History of Sanskrit Literature,' London, 1917, also *cf.* Rapson's 'Ancient India,' p. 72, 1916, also *cf.* pp. 141-42 of the 'Early History of the Dekkan,' by R. G. Bhandarakara, Bombay, 1895.

2 *Cf.* Vālmikī's 'Rāmāyaṇa,' Bālakāṇḍa, 71st Sarga, by T. R. Kṛṣṇacāryya and Vyāsacāryya, Bombay, 1911 :—

(जनकवंशवर्णनम्)

राजाभूत् त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुतः स्वेनकर्मणा
निमिः परमधर्मात्मा सर्वसत्ववतांवरः ।
तस्य पुत्रोमिथिर्नाम मिथिला येन निर्मिता ।
प्रथमोजनको नाम जनकाद्प्युदा वसुः ।
उदावसोस्तु धर्मात्मा जातो वै नन्दिवर्धनः
नन्दिवर्धन पुत्रस्तु सुकेतुर्नाम नामतः ।
सुकेतोरपि धर्मात्मा देवरातो महाबलः ।
देवरातस्य राजर्षेर्बृहद्रथ इतिस्मृतः ।
बृहद्रथस्य सुतोऽभूत् महावीरः प्रतापवान् ।
महावीरस्य धृतिमान् सुधृतिः सत्य विक्रमः ।
सुधेरपि धर्मात्मा दृष्टकेतुः सुधार्मिकः ।
दृष्टकेतोस्तु राजर्षेर्हर्यश्व इति विश्रुतः ।
हर्यश्वस्य मरुः पुत्रो मरोः पुत्रः प्रतिन्धकः ।
प्रतिन्धकस्य धर्मात्मा जाराकीर्तिरथः सुतः ।
पुत्रः कीर्तिरथस्यापि देवमीढ़ इति श्रुतः ।
देवमीढ़स्य विबुधो विबुधस्य महीध्रकः ।
महीध्रक सुतोराजा कीर्तिरातो महाबलः ।
कीर्तिरातस्य राजर्षेर्महारोमा व्यजायत ।
महारोमृणस्तु धर्मात्मा स्वर्णरोमा व्यजायत ।
स्वर्णरोमृणस्तु राजर्षेर्ह्रस्वरोमा व्यजायतः ।
तस्य पुत्रद्वयं जज्ञे धर्मज्ञस्य महात्मनः ।
ज्येष्ठोऽस्य मनुजोधाता समवीरः कुशध्वजः ॥

विष्णु पुराणे ४ अंशे ५ अध्याये ।

ततो महातेजा तस्य स्वर्णतेजास्तत्पुत्रो ह्रस्वरोमा ह्रस्वरोमृणः सीरध्वजोऽभवत् ॥ २७ ॥

3 *Cf.* page 285 of Macdonell's 'Sanskrit Literature' London, 1917. Also *cf.* pp. 141-2 of the 'Early History of Dekkan' by R. G. Bhandarkar, Bombay, 1895.

4 *Cf.* Mahābhārata, Karṇa Parva, 5th Adhyāya.

Rājā of Mithilā[1] described as Kṣemāri in the Viṣṇupurāṇa

तथैव रथिनां श्रेष्ठ क्षेमधूर्त्तिं विशाम्पते ।
निहतौ गदया राजन् भीमसेनेन संयुगे ॥
तथा राजा महेष्वासो जलसन्धो महाबलः ।
सुमहत्कदनं कृत्वा हतः सात्यकिनारणे ॥

[1] It requires some explanation why the Rajā of Mithilā espoused the cause of the evil genius Duryodhana. It would seem that he bore grudge to the five Pandavas

(i) Because Pāṇḍu, father of the five Pāṇḍava brothers, conquered Mithilā. *Cf.* Mahābhārata, Adi Parva, 113th Adhyaya, 28th Sloka :—

"पाण्डुना मिथिलाङ्गत्वा विदेहा समरे जिताः".

(ii) Bhīma Sena, one of the Pāṇḍavas, fought and subdued the Rājās of Mithilā and Nepal, *cf.* Mahabharata, Sabhā Parva, 29th Adhyāya.

ततः स गण्डकान्गत्वा विदेहान्भरतर्षभः ।
विजित्याल्पेन कालेन दशार्णान जयत्प्रभुः ॥

Also *cf.* Sabhā Parva, 30th Adhyaya.

वैदेह कच्चराजानं जनकं जगती पतिम् । विजिग्ये पुरुष व्याघ्रो नातितीव्रेण कर्मणा ॥ शकांश्च बर्बरांश्चैव अजय च्छद्म पूर्वकम् । वैदेहस्थ तु कौन्तेयइन्द्र पर्वत मन्तिकात् ॥ किरातानामधिपतीन जयत्सप्तपाण्डवः ।

(iii) Duryodhana, son of Dhritrastra was well known in Mithilā as he came to learn "Gadavidya" while Kṛṣṇa and his brother Rāma (Balarāma) were in Mithila in quest of Syamantakamani (a jewel).

But it may be stated on the other hand that Balarāma (Krishna's brother) who did not take part in the Mahābhārat war, as he was preceptor of Duryodhana, took refuse during the period in Mithilā. The inference would be that Mithilā kings remained neutral.

श्रीमद्भागवते १० स्कन्धे उत्तरार्द्धे ५७ अध्याये Samvat 1963, Bombay.

(बलदेवस्य मिथिला गमनम्)

गरुड़ध्वज मारुह्य रथं रामजनार्द्दनौ । अन्वयातामहा वेगैरश्वै राजन्गुरुद्रुहम्
मिथिलायामुपवने विसृज्य पतितं हयम् । पद्भ्यामधावत्संत्रस्तः कृष्णोऽप्यन्वद्रवद्रुषा ॥ १० ॥
पदातेर्भगवांस्तस्य पदातिस्तिग्मनेमिना । चक्रेण शिर उत्कृत्य वाससो व्यचिनोन्मणिम् ॥ ११ ॥
अलब्धमणिरागत्य कृष्णाग्रजाविकम् । वृथाहतः शतधनुर्मणिस्तत्र न विद्यते ॥ १२ ॥
तत आह बलो नूनं समणिः शतधन्वना । कस्मिंश्चित्पुरुषेन्यस्तस्त मन्वेष पुरंव्रज ॥ १३ ॥
अहं विदेहमिच्छामि द्रष्टुं प्रियतमं मम । इत्युक्त्वा मिथिलां राजन्विवेश यदुनन्दनः ॥ १४ ॥
तं दृष्ट्वा सहसोत्थाय मैथिलः प्रीतमानसः । अर्हयामास विधिवदर्हणीयं समर्हणैः ॥ १५ ॥
उवास तस्यां कतिचिन्मिथिलायां समाविभुः । मानितः प्रीतियुक्तेन जनकेन महात्मना ॥ १६ ॥
ततोऽशिक्षद्गदां काले धार्त्तराष्ट्रः सुयोधनः ॥

श्रीमद्भागवते १० स्कन्धे उत्तरार्द्धे ८६ अध्याये ।

(श्रीकृष्णस्य मिथिला गमनम्)

and as Kṣemadhi in the Bhāgwata Purāṇa, a presumption justified by the fact that the Pāṇḍava brothers and Śr Krṣṇa as well as Duryodhana were familiar with and had visited Mithilā.

Vaiśāli and Mithilā in the Purāṇas

According to the Purāṇas, Iksvaku was a kṣatriya and was son of Manu, who was son of the Sun, who sprang from Brahmā (the Creator). One of Iksvaku's sons was Mithi, who founded the royal family of Mithilā, which produced such eminent and scholarly kings as Janaka of Yājñavalkya's time (Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad) and Siradhwaja Janaka, father of Sita (the heroine of Vālmikī's Rāmāyaṇa) who married Rāma. It is said that there were 54 kings of this dynasty, of whom 20 preceded and 33 followed Siradhwaja Janaka.[1] It is also related that to

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कृष्णस्यासीद्द्विज श्रेष्ठः श्रुतदेव इति श्रुतः । कृष्णैकभक्त्या पूर्णार्थः शान्तः कविरलम्पटः ॥ १३ ॥
स उवास विदेहेषु मिथिलायां गृहाश्रमी । अनीहयागताहार्य निर्वर्त्तित निजक्रियः ॥ १४ ॥
यात्रामात्रं त्वहरहर्दैवादुपनमत्युत । नाधिकं तावतातुष्टः क्रियाश्चक्रे यथोचिताः ॥ १५ ॥
तथातद्राष्ट्र पालोऽङ्ग बहुलाश्व इति श्रुतः । मैथिलोनिरहंमान उभावप्यच्युत प्रियौ ॥ १६ ॥
तयो प्रसन्नो भगवान्दारुकेणाहृत रथम् । आरुह्य साकंमुनिभिर्विदेहान्प्रययौ प्रभुः ॥ १७ ॥
स्वानुग्रहाय संप्राप्तं मन्वानौतं जगद्गुरुम् । मैथिलः श्रुतदेवश्च पादयोः पेततुः प्रभोः ॥ २४ ॥
न्यमन्त्रयेतां दाशार्हमातिथ्येन सहद्विजैः । मैथिलः श्रुतदेवश्च युगपत्संहताञ्जली ॥ २५ ॥
भगवांस्तदभिप्रेत्य द्वयोः प्रिय चिकीर्षया । उभयोराविशद्गेहमुभाभ्यां तदलक्षितः ॥ २६ ॥

He was so called because Sita his daughter sprang up from a furrow while he was ploughing (*cf.* Bhagawat Purāṇa, IX, 13, 18).

[1] The names are :— (1) Manu, (2) Ikswaku, (3) Mithi-Janaka-Videha, (4) Nandivardhana, (5) Suketu, (6) Devarāta, (7) Vrihaduktha, (8) Mahaviryya, (9) Satyadriti, (10) Dhrishtaketu, (11) Haryyāsva, (12) Maru, (13) Pratīvardhaka, (14) Kritaratha, (15) Kriti, (16) Vyidha, (17) Mahadhriti, (18) Kritirata, (19) Maharoma, (20) Suvarnaroma, (21) Hraswaroma, (22) Siradhwaja and Kusadhwaja (brothers), (23) Siradhwaja's son Bhānumān and daughter Sita (adopted), (24) Satadyumna (Siradhwaja's son), (25) Suchi, (26) Urjjvaha, (27) Satyadhwaja, (28) Kuni, (29) Anjana, (30) Ritujita, (31) Arishtanemi, (32) Srutayu, (33) Suryyaswa, (34) Sanjaya, (35) Kshemāri (36) Anena, (37) Minaratha, (38) Satyaratha (39) Satyarathi, (40), Upagu, (41) Sruta, (42) Saswata, (43) Sudhanwā, (44) Subhāsa, (45) Susrita, (46) Jaya, (47) Vijaya, (48) Rita, (49) Sunaya, (50) Vitahavya, (51) Sanjaya II, (52) Kshemaswa, (53) Dhriti, (54) Vahulaswa, (55) Kriti (with whom the dynasty came to an end).

Cf. The Vishṇu Purāṇa, 4th Ansa, 5th Adhya (Bombay, 1969 Sambat).

विष्णुपुराणे ४ अंशे ५ अध्याये

(जनकवंश वर्णनम्)

इक्ष्वाकु तनयो योऽसौ निमिर्नाम्ना सहस्रं वत्सरं सत्रमारेभे वशिष्ठं च होतारं वरयामास । तमाह वशिष्ठो ऽहमिन्द्रेण पंचवर्षशत यागार्थं प्रथमं वृतः । तदनन्तरं प्रतिपाल्य तामागतस्तवापि

र्त्विक भविष्यामीत्युक्ते सपृथिवीपतिर्न्न किञ्चिदुक्तवान्। वशिष्ठो ऽप्यनेन समन्विच्छित"मिति. अमर पतेर्यागमकरोत। सोऽपि तत्काल एवान्यैर्गौतमादिभि र्यागमकरोत्॥

समाप्ते चामरपतेर्यागे त्वरया वशिष्ठोनिमियज्ञं करिष्यामीत्याजगाम। तत्कर्मकर्तृत्वञ्च गौतमस्य दृष्ट्वा स्वपते तस्मैराज्ञे "मांप्रत्याख्यायैव तद्नेन गौतमाय कर्म्मान्तरं समर्पित यस्मातस्माद्य विदेहो भविष्यति" इतिशापन्ददौ।

प्रबुद्धश्चासाववनिपतिरपिप्राह। "यस्मान्मामसम्भाष्य ज्ञानत एव शयानस्य शापोत्सर्गमसौ दुष्टगुरुश्चकार तस्मात्तस्यापि देहः पतिष्यती"ति शाप दत्वा देहमत्यजत्। तच्छापच्चामित्रा वरुणयो स्तेजसि वशिष्ठस्य चेत' प्रविष्टम्। उर्वशी दर्शनादुद्भूत बीजप्रपातयोस्तयोः सकाशाद्वशिष्ठो देहमपरंलेभे। निमेरपि तच्छरीरमतिमनोहरगन्धतैलादिभिरुपसंक्रियमाणं नैव क्लेदादि-कन्दोषमवाप। सद्योमृत इव तस्थौ। यज्ञ समाप्तौ भागग्रहणाय देवानागतानृत्विज ऊचुः। "यजमानाय वरोदीयताम" इति। देवैश्च चन्दितोऽसौनिमिराह। भगवन्तो ऽखिलसंसार दुःख-हर्त्तारः। नह्येता दृगन्य दुःखमस्ति यच्छरीरात्मनोर्वियोगे भवति। तदहमिच्छामि सकललोक लोचनेषु वस्तुं न पुनः शरीरग्रहणं कर्त्तुमित्येवमुक्तैर्देवैरसावशेष भूतानां नेत्रेष्ववतारितः। ततो भूतान्युन्मेष निमेषंचक्रुः॥

अपुत्रस्य च तस्य भूभुज' शरीर मराजकभीरवो मुनयोरण्या ममन्थुस्तत्र च कुमारो जज्ञे। जननाज्जनक संज्ञाञ्च अभूद्विदेहो ऽस्यपितेति वैदेहोमथनान्मिथिरिति। तस्योदावसुः पुत्रोऽभव-दुदावसोर्नन्दि वर्द्धनस्ततः सुकेतुस्तस्माद्देवरातस्ततश्च वृहदुक्थस्तस्यच महावीर्यस्तस्यापि सुधृतिः। ततश्चाधृष्टकेतुरजायत। धृष्टकेतोर्हर्यश्वस्तस्य च मनुर्मनोः प्रतीकस्तस्मात्कृतरथस्तस्य देवमीढस्तस्य च विबुधस्य महाधृतिस्तत्सुत कृतरातस्तो महारोमा तस्य स्वर्णरोमा, तत्पुत्रो ह्रस्वरोमा(ण)ः सीरध्वजो-ऽभवत्। तस्य पुत्रार्थं यजनभुव कृषतस्सीरे सीतादुहिता समुत्पन्ना। सीरध्वजस्य भ्राताकाश्यप-पतिः कुशध्वजनामासीत्॥

सीरध्वजस्यापत्यं भानुमान् भानुमतश्शतद्युम्नः तस्य तु शुचिः तस्माचोर्जनामा पुत्रो जज्ञे तस्यापि शतध्वजः ततः कृतिः कृतेरंजनः तत्पुत्रः कुरुजित् ततोऽरिष्टनेमिः तस्माच्छ्रुतायुषः सुपार्श्वः तस्मात्सृंजयः ततः क्षेमावी क्षेमाविनोऽनेनाः तस्माद्भौमरथः तस्य सत्यरथः तस्मादुपगुः उपगोरुपगुप्तः तत्पुत्रः स्वागतस्तस्य च स्वानन्द तस्माच्च सुवर्चाः तस्य च सुपार्श्वः तस्यापि सुभाषः तस्य सुश्रुतः तस्मात्सुश्रुताज्जय· तस्य पुत्रो विजयः विजयस्य ऋतः ऋतात्सुनयः सुनयाद्वीतहव्यः तस्माद्धृतिः धृतेर्बहुलाश्वः तस्य पुत्रः कृतिः॥ कृतौ संतिष्ठत्ययं जनकवंशः॥

Also *cf.* the 9th Skandha, 1st Adhyāya, 8th Sloka of the Śrimadabhāgawata. Sambat 1963, Bombay.

श्रीमद्भागवते नवमस्कन्धे १ अ॰ श्लो॰ ८ तः।

(जनकवंशवर्णनं निमिनामोपपत्तिश्च)

परावरेषां भूतानामात्मायः पुरुषःपरः।..तस्य नाभेः समभवत्पद्मकोशो हिरण्मयः॥
तस्मिञ्जज्ञे महराज स्वयंभूश्चतुराननः। मरीचिर्म्मनसस्तस्य यज्ञे तस्यापि कश्यपः॥
दाक्षायण्यां ततोदित्यां विवस्वानभवत्सुतः। ततो मनुः श्राद्धदेवः संज्ञायामास भारत॥
श्रद्धायां जनयामास दशपुत्रान्स आत्मवान्। इक्ष्वाकुन्नृगशर्याति दिष्टधृष्टकरूषकान्
नरिष्यन्त पृषध्रं च नभगञ्चकविं विभुः॥ १२॥
ततः ६ अध्याये।
क्षुवतस्तु मनोर्यज्ञ इक्ष्वाकुर्घ्राणतः सुतः। तस्य पुत्र शत ज्येष्ठाविकुक्षिनिमि दण्डकाः॥ ४॥
ततः १३ अध्याये।

the south-west of this kingdom lay the kingdom of Vaisāli. Their boundaries[1] have not been indicated except that they were situate to the north of the Ganges (which formed the boundary line between them and Magadha). Of Vaisāli it is said that Nedistha, another son of Manu, founded a

निमिरिक्ष्वाकुतनयो वशिष्ठमवृतर्त्विजम् । आरभ्य सत्रं सोऽप्याह शक्रेण प्राग्वृतोऽस्मि भोः ॥ १ ॥
तं निर्वर्त्यागमिष्यामि तावन्मां प्रतिपालय । तूष्णीमासीद्गृहपतिः सोऽपीन्द्रस्याकरोन्मखम् ॥ २ ॥
निमित्तश्चलमिदं विद्वान्सत्रमारभतात्मवान् । ऋत्विग्भिरपरैस्तावन्नागमद्यावता गुरुः ॥ ३ ॥
शिष्य व्यतिक्रमं वीक्ष्य निर्वर्त्य गुरुरागतः । अशपत्पतताद्देहो निमेः पण्डितमानिनः ॥ ४ ॥
निमिः प्रतिददौ शापं गुरवेऽधर्मवर्त्तिने । तवापि पतताद्देहो लोभाद्धर्ममजानतः ॥ ५ ॥
इत्युत्ससर्ज स्वं देहं निमिरध्यात्मकोविदः । मित्रावरुणयोर्जज्ञे उर्वश्यां प्रपितामहः ॥ ६ ॥
गन्धवस्तुषु तद्देहं निधाय मुनिसत्तमाः । समाप्ते सत्रयागेऽथ देवानूचुः समागतान् ॥ ७ ॥
राज्ञो जीवतु देहोऽयं प्रसन्नाः प्रभवो यदि । तथेत्युक्ते निमिः प्राह माभून्मे देहबन्धनम् ॥ ८ ॥
यस्य योगन्नवाञ्छन्ति वियोगभयकातराः । भजन्ति चरणाम्भोजं मुनयो हरिमेधसः ॥ ९ ॥
देहं नावरुरुत्सेऽहं दुःखशोकभयावहम् । सर्वत्रास्य यतो मृत्युर्मत्स्यानामुदके यथा ॥ १० ॥
(देवा ऊचुः) विदेह उष्यतां कामं लोचनेषु शरीरिणाम् । उन्मेषणनिमेषाभ्यां लक्षितो ऽध्यात्मसंस्थितः ॥ ११ ॥

(इति । तथा च नितरां मिषति स्पर्द्धते इति निमिः "मिषस्पर्द्धायाम्" (तु॰ प॰) ततो "पूर्वाङ्गि"। डित्त्वादि लोपे निमिः। तस्यैवाचि-निमेषः। सोऽपि हि नितरां स्पर्द्धते ऽन्योऽन्यम् । हा निमिः सीदति (वसति) अस्मिन्निति निमेषः। पृषोदरादिः ।)

अराजकभयं नॄणां मन्यमाना महर्षयः । देहं ममन्थुस्म निमेः कुमारः समजायत ॥ १२ ॥
जन्मना जनकः सोऽभूद्वैदेहस्तु विदेहजः । मिथिलो मथनाज्जातो मिथिला येन निर्म्मिता ॥ १३ ॥
तस्मादुदावसुस्तस्य पुत्रोऽभून्नन्दिवर्द्धनः । ततः सुकेतुस्तस्यापि देवरातो महीपते ॥ १४ ॥
तस्माद्बृहद्रथस्तस्य महावीर्यः सुधृत्पिता । सुधृते र्धृष्टकेतुर्वै हर्य्यश्वोऽथ मरुस्ततः ॥ १५ ॥
मरोः प्रतीपकस्तस्माज्जातः कृतिरथो यतः । देवमीढस्तस्य सुतो विश्रुतोऽथ महाधृतिः ॥ १६ ॥
कृतिरातस्ततस्तस्मान्महारोमाथ तत्सुतः । स्वर्णरोमा सुतस्तस्य ह्रस्वरोमा व्यजायत ॥ १७ ॥
ततः सीरध्वजो जज्ञे यज्ञार्थं कर्षतो महीम् । सीता सीराग्रतो जाता तस्मात्सीरध्वजः स्मृतः ॥ १८ ॥

तथाच सीरो हलं "कृषको लाङ्गलं हलं । गोदारणं च सीरः" इत्यमरः । सध्वजः ध्वजवत् (पताकावत्) व्यावर्त्तकः (लोके प्रख्यापको) यस्य स सीरध्वज इति तन्नामनिरुक्तिः ॥

एते वै मैथिला राजन् आत्मविद्या विशारदाः । योगेश्वरप्रसादेन द्वन्द्वैर्मुक्ता गृहेष्वपि ॥ २७ ॥

Bhagavata and Viṣṇu Purans are attributed to the 5th cent. A.D. (*cf.* Appendix (A) V. A. Smith's 'History of India' Oxford, 1916).

[1] A theory has been advanced that this boundary line was the river Vagmati, which runs through the northern part of Muzaffarpur district. This theory is supported by the fact that the part of the district to the south of this river is called Bisāra (which was one of the revenue divisions during the Moghul times), and that to the north is popularly known as Mithilā or Tirhut. It may also be remembered that, according to the Śatpatha Brahmaṇ, the river Sadānīr (Gandak) formed the boundary between the kingdoms of Kosalā and Mithilā) and it is possible Videgh Māthava who led the Aryans from the Saraswati to colonise Mithilā and his priest Rahugana, wandered through the northern Himalayan regions till they came to the upper reaches of the river Gaṇdaka, and led the foundation of the Mithilā kingdom to the north of what formed the kingdom of Vaisāli.

line of kings beginning with Nābhāga, who became a Vaiṣya [1] and one of whose 33 descendants was Marutta noted in the Hindu legends for his great Yajña (sacrifice) at which all the utensils and implements used were made of gold and the Brahmanas were enraptured with the magnificent donations they received. One of Marutta's descen-

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[1] *Cf.* Viṣṇupurāna, 4th Ansa, 1st Adhyaya, page 164, slokas 19 to 61, Bombay, Samvat 1967 :—

(1) Nabhāga, (2) Bhalandana, (3) Vatasapri, (4) Prausu, (5) Prajani, (6) Khanitra, (7) Kshapa, (8) Avivinsa, (9) Vivimsa, (10) Khaninetra, (11) Atibibhuti, (12) Karandhwa, (13) Avikshit, (14) Marutta, (15) Narishyanta, (16) Dama, (17) Rajyavardhana, (18) Sudhriti, (19) Nara, (20) Kevala, (21) Vandhumān, (22) Vegaman, (23) Vridha, (24) Tṛṇavindu

(25) Ilavita   Viśala or Vaiśala,

(26) Visala's son, Hemachandra, (27) Suchandra, (28) Dhumraswa, (29) Srinjaya, (30) Sahadeva, (31) Krisaswa, (32) Somadatta, (33) Janamejaya, (34) Sumati.

Also *cf.* Markandeya Purāṇa, pp. 261-301, Adhyayas 110-133, (Venkteshwar Press, Sambat 1959).

Also *cf.* Vayu Purāṇa, p. 144, Adhyay 24, Slokas 1-21 (Venkteshwar Press, Sambat 1952) :—

निसर्गं मनु पुत्राणां विस्तरेण निबोधत । पृषध्रो हिंसयित्वा तु गुरोर्गामभक्षयत् ॥ १ ॥
शापाच्छूद्रत्वमापन्नश्च्यवनस्य महात्मनः । करूषस्य तु कारूषः क्षत्रियो युद्धदुर्मदः ॥ २ ॥
सहस्रक्षत्रियगण विक्रान्तः संबभूव ह । नाभा गरिष्ट पुत्रस्तु विद्वानासीद्भलन्दनः ॥ ३ ॥
भलन्दनस्य पुत्रोऽभूत् प्रांशुर्नाम महाबलः । प्रांशोरेको भवत् पुत्रः प्रजानिरिति विश्रुतः ॥ ४ ॥
प्रजानेरभवत् पुत्रः खनित्रो नाम वीर्य्यवान् । तस्य पुत्रोऽभवच्छ्रीमान् क्षुपो नाम महायशाः ॥५॥
क्षुपस्य विंशः पुत्रस्तु प्रतिमा न बभूव ह । विंशपुत्रस्तु कल्याणो विविंशो नाम धार्मिकः ॥ ६ ॥
विविंश पुत्रो धर्म्मात्मा खनिनेत्रः प्रतापवान् । करन्धमस्तस्य पुत्र स्त्रेता युगमुखेऽभवत् ॥ ७ ॥
करन्धम सुतश्चापि आविक्षिन्नाम वीर्य्यवान् । आविक्षितो व्यतिक्रामत् पितरं गुणवत्तया ॥ ८ ॥
मरुत्तो नाम धर्म्मात्मा चक्रवर्त्तिसमो नृपः । संवर्त्तेन दिवञ्जीतः ससुहृत् सह बान्धवैः ॥ ९ ॥
विवादोऽत्र महानासीत् संवर्त्तस्य बृहस्पतेः । ऋद्धिं दृष्ट्वा तु यज्ञस्य क्रुद्धस्य बृहस्पतिः ॥ १० ॥
संवर्त्तेन हुते यज्ञे चुकोप सुभृशन्तदा । लोकानां स हि नाशाय देवतैर्हि प्रसादितः ॥११॥
मरुत्तश्चक्रवर्त्ती स नरिष्यन्तमवाप्तवान् । नरिष्यन्तस्य दायादो राजा दण्डधरो दमः ॥ १२ ॥
तस्य पुत्रस्तु विक्रान्तो राजासीद्राष्ट्रवर्द्धनः । सुधृती तस्य पुत्रस्तु नरः सुधृतिनः सुतः ॥ १३ ॥
केवलस्तस्य पुत्रस्तु बन्धुमान् केवलात्मजः । अथ बन्धु मतः पुत्रो धर्म्मात्मा वेगवान् नृपः ॥ १४ ॥
बुधो वेगवतः पुत्रस्तृण बिन्दुर्बुधात्मजः । त्रेता युगमुखे राजा तृतीये संबभूव ह ॥ १५ ॥
कन्या तु तस्य द्रविडा माता विश्रवसो हि सा । पुत्रश्चास्य विशालोऽभूत् राजा परम धार्म्मिकः ॥ १६ ॥

विशालस्य समुत्पन्ना विशाला नय निर्म्मिता । विशालस्य सुतो राजा हेमचन्द्रो महाबलः ॥ १७ ॥
सुचन्द्र इति विख्यातो हेमचन्द्रादनन्तरम् । सुचन्द्र तनयो राजा धूम्राश्व इति विश्रुतः ॥ १८ ॥
धूम्राश्व तनयो विद्वान् सृञ्जयः समपद्यत । सृञ्जयस्य सुतः श्रीमान् सहदेवः प्रतापवान् ॥ १९ ॥
कृशाश्व सहदेवस्य पुत्रः परमधार्म्मिकः । कृशाश्वस्य महा तेजाः सोमदत्तः प्रतापवान् ॥ २० ॥
सोमदत्तस्य राजर्षेः सुतोऽभूज्जनमेजय । जनमेजयात्मजश्चैव प्रमतिर्नाम विश्रुतः ॥ २१ ॥

dants was Tṛṇavindu, whose son born of a nymph was Visāla, who founded the city of Vaisāli. Visāla was followed by 9 descendants, the last of whom was Sumati. It is said that the monarchs of Vaisāli[1] were long lived, magnanimous, equitable and valiant.

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[1] Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa explains how the kings of Vaisāli (though sprung from the same stock as the kings of Mithilā) came to be Vaiśyas, whilst those of Mithilā remained Kṣatriyas. Nābhāga is said to have taken a Vaiśya wife and was ousted from the Kṣatriya fold. His relatives did not give him a share in his father's kingdom, but the valiance of his son, Bhalandana got back the kingdom for him. The story is told in a slightly modified form in the ninth khaṇḍa of the 'Aitereya Brahmaṇa' which gives an account of Nediṣṭha and Nabhāga :—

Cf. Aitereya Brahman, 5th Panchika, 22nd Adhyaya, 9th khand :—

नाभानेदिष्ठं वै मानवं ब्रह्मचर्यं वसन्तं भ्रातरो निरभजन्सोऽब्रवीदेत्य किं मह्यम भाक्तेत्येतमेव निष्ठावमववदितार मित्य ब्रुवंस्तस्माद्धाप्येतर्हि पितरं पुत्रा निष्ठावोऽववदितेत्येवाऽऽचक्षते।

स पितरमेत्याब्रवीत्त्वां ह वाव मह्यं त (ता) ताभाक्षुरिति तं पिताऽब्रवीन्मा पुत्रक तदा दृथा अङ्गिरसो वा इमे स्वर्गाय लोकाय सत्रमासते ते षष्ठं षष्ठमेवाहरागत्य मुह्यन्ति तानेते सूक्ते षष्ठेऽहनि शंसय तेषां यत्सहस्रं सत्रपरिवेषणं तत्ते स्वर्यन्तो दास्यन्तीति तथेति।

तानुपैत्प्रतिगृभ्णीत मानवं सुमेधस इति तमब्रुवन्किं कामो वदसीतीदमेव वः षष्ठमहः प्रज्ञापयानीत्यब्रवीदथ यद्व एतत्सहस्रं सत्रपरिवेषणं तन्मे स्वर्यन्तो दत्तेति तथेति तानेते सूक्ते षष्ठेऽहन्यशंसयत्ततो वै ते प्रयज्ञमजानन्प्र स्वर्गं लोकम्।

तद्यदेते सूक्ते षष्ठेऽहनि शंसति यज्ञस्य प्रज्ञात्यै स्वर्गस्य लोकस्यानुख्यात्यै।

तं स्वर्यन्तोऽब्रुवन्नेतत्ते ब्राह्मण सहस्रमिति तदेनं समाकुर्वाणं पुरुषः कृष्णशवास्युत्तरत उपोत्थायाब्रवीन्मम वा इदं मम वै वास्तुहमिति सोऽब्रवीन्मह्यं वा इदमदुरिति तमब्रवीत्तद्वै नौ तवैव पितरि प्रश्न इति स पितरमैत्तं पिताऽब्रवीन्ननु ते पुत्रकाऽदुरित्यदुर्वै म इत्यब्रवीत्तत्तु मे पुरुषः कृष्णशवास्युत्तरत उपोदतिष्ठन्मम वा इदं मम वै वास्तुहमित्यादितेति तं पिताऽब्रवीत्तस्यैव पुत्रक तत्तु स तुभ्यं दास्यतीति स पुनरेत्याब्रवीत्तव ह वाव किल भगव इदमिति मे पिताऽऽहेति सोऽब्रवीत्तदहं तुभ्यमेव ददामि य एव सत्यमवादीरिति,

तस्मादेवं विदुषा सत्यमेव वदितव्यम्,
स एष सहस्रसनिर्मन्त्रो यन्नाभानेदिष्ठ,
उपैनं सहस्रं नमति प्र षष्ठेनाह्ना स्वर्गं
लोकं जानाति य एवं वेद ॥ १४ इति।

The Aitereya Brahman is assigned to the 6th cent. B.C.

Cf. Macdonell "Sanskrita Literature," pp. 202-203.

It is now generally admitted that the 'Aitereya Brahmaṇ' is as old as, if not older than, the 'Śatapatha Brahman.' This reference to Nabhāgnediśta is also found in the Rig Veda and Yajur Veda, where he is called the son of Manu. *Cf.* Griffith's Rig Veda, vol II, p. 467, Hym. 18; p. 469, Hym. 1 & 4, p. 470, Hym. 11. These references make it highly probable that the kingdoms of Mithilā and Vaisāli were founded, almost, at the same time, though Vaisāli city may have come into existence at a later age.

It has been suggested that the Nediśta Nābhāga story was created to explain "nābhāga," i.e. one without share

The story regarding Nābhāga's transformation from a kṣatriya into a Vaiṣya was probably intended to explain the fact that Vaisāli became a centre of trade and commerce at an early period.

Śukadeva, [1] 'son of Vedavyāsa' who is traditionally reputed to have composed all the Purāṇas and Mahābhārata, is said to have come to Janaka's court in Mithilā to acquire wisdom.

Though it is not easy to say when exactly the civilisation of Tirhut began, all modern scholars admit that the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa including the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-upaniṣad is much older than the epics Vālmikī's Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. Rāma belongs to a much earlier period of Hindu legend than Kṛṣṇa, and all Hindu traditions state that the Rāmāyana (or at least its original framework) of Vālmikī, who is traditionally recognised as the first Sanskrit poet and who, as stated in the Rāmāyaṇa itself, was a contemporary of Rāma, preceded the Mahābhārata which narrates the great war fought in the presence of Kṛṣṇa, by several centuries. Yājñavalkya and Janaka mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa belong admittedly to a much earlier period than that of Rāma, the hero of Vālmikī's Rāmāyaṇa.

It is certain that 'Vaiśāli' was in a high state of civilisation in the 6th century B.C., when Buddhā (who is admittedly later than Kṛṣṇa) lived and this civilisation extends far into antiquity when we recall that the splen-

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[1] *Cf.*

श्री देवीभागवते १ स्कं० १६ अध्याये १७ अ० च ।

(श्री शुकदेवस्य मिथिला गमनम्)

शुक प्रति व्यासवचनम्

न चेन्मनसि ते शान्तिर्वचनान्मम सुव्रत । गच्छ त्वं मिथिलां पुत्र पालितां जनकेन ह । ४५
स ते मोहं महाभाग नाशयिष्यति भूपतिः । जनको नाम धर्मात्मा विदेहः सत्यसागरः । ४६
तं गत्वा नृपतिं पुत्र सन्देहं स्वं निवर्त्तय । वर्णाश्रमाणां धर्मांस्त्वं पृच्छ पुत्र यथातथम् । ४७
जीवन्मुक्तः स राजर्षिं ब्रह्मज्ञानमतिः शुचिः । तथ्यवक्तातिशान्तश्च योगी योगप्रियः सदा । ४८
(सूत उवाच) तच्छ्रुत्वा वचनन्तस्य व्यासस्यामिततेजसः ।
प्रत्युवाच महातेजाः शुकश्चारणि सम्भवः ।..
(शुक वचनम् अ० १७) ।
अपृच्छेत्त्वां महाभाग याच्यन्ते वचन मया । विदेहान्द्रष्टु मिच्छामि पालिताः जनकेन तु ।
इत्यादि (सूत उवाच) इत्युक्तः सोऽभिवाद्यार्यं कृत्वा चैव प्रदक्षिणाम् ।
चलितस्तरसातीव धनुर्मुक्तः शरो यथा ॥
पश्यन्वै विविधान्देशांल्लोकांश्च वित्तधर्मिणः । वनानि पादपांश्चैव क्षेत्राणि फलितानि च ।
..वर्षद्वयेन मेरुञ्च समुल्लंघ्य महामतिः । हिमाचलं च वर्षेण जगाम मिथिलां प्रति ।
प्रविष्टो मिथिलामध्ये पश्यन्सर्वर्द्धिं सुत्तमाम् । प्रजाश्च सुखिताः सर्वाः सदाचाराः सुसंस्थिताः ।

dour of Vaiśālī and the hospitality of the Vaiśāli king Sumati (with whom Rāma stopped for a night) are described in the Vālmikī's Rāmāyaṇa. All this will justify the conclusion that the civilisation of Tirhut is much older than the 6th century B.C. and may go so far back as 1000 B.C. to 1500 B.C.[1]

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[1] Mr. Colebrooke infers, from astronomical data, that the arrangement of the Vedas, attributed to Vyasa, took place in the 14th century B.C. (Miscellaneous Essays, vol. I, pp. 109, 110 and pp. 200-202; vol. II, pp, 332, 335, 356, 357, etc.; also Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX, pp. 116, 358, 359, and 360: also Prof. Whitney's notes quoted by H. H. Wilson, Translation of the Viṣṇupurāṇa, 1868, vol. II, pp. 273-75 and vol. IV, pp. 230 to 235). Mr. Bentely brings the date of Yudhiṣṭhira, the chief of the Pandawas, to 575 B.C. (Historical view of the Hindu Astronomy, p. 67). According to Colonel Wilford's calculation, the conclusion of the great war took place in 1370 B.C. (Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX, Chronological Table, p. 116). The weight of authority, however, seems to be in favour of 13th to 14th century B.C. for the Mahabhārata war.

The accounts in the Purāṇas are generally discrepant, but almost all the important Purāṇas indicate that 1000 to 1150 years elapsed between Parikṣita successor of Yudhisthira (hero of the Mahābhārata) and the coronation of Candragupta Mauryya. Thus the Viṣṇu Purāṇa gives 1015 years :-

यावत्परीक्षितो जन्म यावन्नन्दाभिषेचनम् ।
एतद्वर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चदशोत्तरम् ॥

Cf, Anśa 4, Adhyāya 24.
The Vāyu Purāṇa has 1050 years :—

महापद्माभिषेकात्तु जन्म यावत्परीक्षितः ।
एतद्वर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चाशदुत्तरम् ॥

The Bhāgawata Purāṇa finds a distance of 1115 years between the same two events :—

आरभ्य भवतो जन्म यावन्नन्दाभिषेचनम् ।
एतद्वर्षसहस्रं तु शतं पञ्चदशोत्तरम् ॥

If this affords any approximation to reliability, it may be assumed that the Mahābhārata war took place about 1050 years before Candragupta Mauryya, who was coronated about 315 B C., i.e Yudhiṣṭhira lived in the 14th century B.C.

If, therefore, it is assumed that Kṣemari of Mithi's line was a contemporary of Yudhiṣṭhira and 36 kings preceded him in Mithilā, it follows that Mithi founded the kingdom of Mithilā about 36 x 20 or 720 years before the Mahābhārata or about 2000 B.C.

Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa assigns to Rāma 19th descent from Manu, whereas the Bhāgawata and Viṣṇu Purāṇas would place him about the 60th step from Manu. But according to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa, S tā of Mithilā) and Sumati (of Vaiśālī) were about 29th and 30th respectively in descent from Manu and so Rāma (their contemporary and descended from the same stock of Manu) may also be about 29th in descent from Manu

A similar test of synchronism would make Yudhiṣṭhira 40th in descent from Manu. And if we take that Kāśya of the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad is identical with Kāśya who is described in the Bhāgawata and Viṣṇu Purāṇas and who was a contemporary of Agnivesya in both the Upaniṣad and the Purāṇas, it follows that Janaka and Yājñavalkya of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka were contemporaries of Kāśya whom the test of synchronism would make 13th in descent from Manu.

Thus we have :—
Yudhiṣṭhira
(Mahābhārata war)—1300 B.C.

CHAPTER III.

NOTE ON SOME IMPORTANT PLACES IN ANCIENT MITHILĀ.

Champakāraṇya or modern Champaran.

In the Viṣṇu Purāṇa (Cir. 500 A.D.)[1] and Bṛhad Viṣṇu Purāṇa (Cir. 500 A.D.)[2] mention has been made of a Champakāraṇya (a jungle of Champak flowers) as stretching along the Sālagrāmi or Nārāyaṇī (modern Gaṇḍaka), and it has been stated that this Āraṇya was a place of retreat for Aryan ascetics.[3] This corresponds with the modern district of Champaran in Tirhut.

Different parts of Champaran are associated with the names of different Hindu ṛṣis (sages).

It is said that the tappa Duho-suho is so called after

Rāma and Sītā—
300 + 15 × 20 = 1800 B.C.
Janaka and Yājñavalkya—
1800 + 12 × 20 = 2050 B.C.
Manu—
(Ṛg Veda)–2050 + 12 × 20 = 2300 B.C.

But the reliability of the Purāṇas has still to be established and these conclusions are at present only of an academic interest.

[1] *Cf.* Appendix A to V, A. Smith's 'Early History of India,' 1914, Oxford edition (3rd).

[2] *Cf.* Appendix A to V, A. Smith's 'Early History of India,' 1914, Oxford edition (3rd).

[3] *Cf.* Bṛhad Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Mithilā Khaṇḍa.

शोभिता तैरभुक्तिश्च धनधान्यसमाकुला ।
उत्तरे कांचनारण्यं सप्तर्षिगणसेवितम् ॥
वकु पुष्पफलोपेतं द्वितीयमिव नंदनम् ।
सरोजवनमाख्यातं संतानवनमेव च ॥
मंदारवन मित्येव सर्वतः पुष्पितद्रुमम् ।
चम्पकारण्यमाख्यातं केलिकौतुककाननम् ॥
कुमुदं सुखदं प्रोक्तं वसंतारण्यमेव च ।
स्फटिकप्रतिमं चैव तथा नंद विवर्द्धनम् ॥
शृंगारकाननं चैव उपमान तिरस्कृतं ।
सुगंधिरस-सम्पन्नं सुगंधिकुसुमाकरम् ॥
कदंबकान्तिकल्लोलं लवंगवनमेव च ।
केतकी वनमित्येव कांचनारण्यमध्यगम् ॥

Also Śakti Sangama Tantra.

गण्डकी तीरमारभ्य चम्पारण्यान्तकं शिवे ।
विदेहभूः समाख्याता तिरभुक्ताभिधः मनु ।

the two wives of Rājā Uttānapāda—Du Rānī and Su Rānī.

Dhruva in Champaran

It is also said that the two wives were not on friendly terms and that at the instance of Su Rānī, the Rājā sent Du Rānī into exile in the forest now covered by the part of the district called *Duho Suho*. Shortly afterwards, *while hunting in* the forest, he spent a night in the cottage where lived his banished queen. Dhruva, who was subsequently born, spent his time in the *Āranyas* (forests) contemplating the great problems of life. Champaran or Tirhut's claim to this eminence is, however, falsified by the account of Dhruva and his family in Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Bhāgwat Purāṇa and Skanda Purāṇa, where it is clearly stated that Dhruva practised austerities in Mathura (in the United Provinces), and the two wives of Rājā Uttāna Pāda were named Suniti and Suruci.[1]

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[1] *Cf.* Viṣṇu Purāṇa, 1st Amśa, 11th Adhyāya, Samvat 1969, Bombay.

विष्णुपुराणे प्र० अं० अ० ११

(ध्रुवस्य तपः सिद्धिस्थानम्)

(पराशर उवाच)

प्रियव्रतोत्तानपादौ मनोः स्वायम्भुवस्य तु ।
द्वौ पुत्रौ तु महावीर्यौ धर्मज्ञौ कथितौ तव ॥
तयोरुत्तानपादस्य सुरुच्यामुत्तमः सुतः ।
अभीष्टायामभूद्ब्रह्मन् पितुरत्यन्तवल्लभः ॥
सुनीतिर्नाम या राज्ञस्तस्यासीन्महिषी द्विज ।
स नातिप्रीतिमांस्तस्यामभूद्यस्या ध्रुवः सुतः ॥
राजासनस्थितस्याङ्कं पितुर्भ्रातरमाश्रितम् ।
दृष्ट्वोत्तमं ध्रुवश्चक्रे तमारोढुं मनोरथम् ॥
प्रत्यक्षं भूपतिस्तस्याः सुरुच्या नाभ्यनन्दत ।
प्रणयेनागतं पुत्रमुत्सङ्गारोहणोत्सुकम् ॥
सपत्नीतनयं दृष्ट्वा तमङ्कारोहणोत्सुकम् ।
स्वपुत्रञ्च तथारूढं सुरुचिर्वाक्यमब्रवीत ॥ ६ ॥

इत्येवं सपत्न्या मातुर्वाक्सुपालब्धो ध्रुवः पितुर्गेहान्मातुरनुमत्या बहिरुपवनं गतो नगरात् । तत्र मुनीन्दृष्ट्वा प्रणनाम । ततस्तैर्निर्वेदकारणं मुखकान्त्यवलोकनेन पृष्टः सुरुच्याभिहितमभिदधौ । उत्तरञ्च स्थानमन्यैरनुपभुक्तं तान्पप्रच्छ ते च भगवतो विष्णोराराधनमुपदिश्य तदर्थं स्थानञ्चाभिदधुस्तत्र वि० अ० १२ ।

(पराशर उवाच) निशम्यैतदशेषेण मैत्रेय नृपतेः सुतः ।
निर्जगाम वनात्तस्मात्प्रणिपत्य स तानृषीन् ॥
कृतकृत्यमिवात्मानं मन्यमानस्ततो द्विज ।
मधुसंज्ञं महापुण्यं जगाम यमुनातटम् ॥

The local story of the battle between Rāma and his two sons at Sangrāmpur in Champaran not borne out by the Valmiki's Ramāyaṇa

Sangrāmpura, in the district of Champaran, is another important place which is said to have been so called because the *sangrāma* (great battle) between the two sons of Rāma, Lawa and Kusa and their father, took place here, near the hermitage of the sage Vālmikī, where Sitā, the banished spouse of Rāma, had taken shelter. But this myth is unfounded as Valmikī says that the battle took place near the bank of the river 'Tamasā' where Vālmikī's hermitage stood.[1]

पुनश्च मधुसञ्ज्ञेन दैत्येनाधिष्ठितं यतः ।
ततो मधुवनं नाम्ना ख्यातमत्र महीतले ॥ २ ॥
हत्वा च लवणं रक्षो मधुपुत्रं महाबलम् ।
शत्रुघ्नो मधुरांनाम पुरीन्तत्र चकार वै ॥
यत्र वै देवदेवस्य सान्निध्यं हरिमेधसः ।
सर्वपापघ्ने तस्मिंस्तपस्तीर्थे चकारसः ॥
मरीचिमुख्यैर्मुनिभिर्यथोद्दृष्टमभूत्तदा ॥

Also *cf* Skanda Purāṇa.

स्कान्देऽपि काशीखण्ड पूर्वार्धे अ० २०
औत्तानपादिर्निर्गत्य ततः काननतो द्विज ।
रम्यं मधुवनं प्राप यमुनायास्तटे महत् ॥
आद्यं भगवतः स्थानं तत्पुण्यं हरिमेधसः ।
पापोऽपि जन्तुस्तत्प्राप्य निष्पापो जायते ध्रुवम् ॥
जपन्त वासुदेवाख्यं परंब्रह्म निरामयम् ।
अपश्यत्तन्मयंविश्वं ध्यानस्तिमितलोचनः ॥

Cf. Bhāgawat Purāna, 4th Skanda, 8th Adhyāya, Samvat 1963, Bombay.

श्रीमद्भागवतस्कन्ध ४ अध्याय ८
जाये उत्तानपादस्य सुनीतिः सुरुचिस्तयोः ।
सुरुचिः प्रेयसी पत्युर्नेतरायत्सुतो ध्रुवः ॥ ८ ॥
तत्तात गच्छ भद्रन्ते यमुनायास्तटे शुचि ।
पुण्यं मधुवनं यत्र सान्निध्यं नित्यदा हरेः ॥
स्नात्वानुसवनं तस्मिन्कालिन्द्याः सलिले शिवे ।

[1] *Cf* Vālmiki's Ramāyaṇa, Vol. III, 1913, Bombay, by T. R. Krisṇācaryya

वाल्मीकीय रामायणे उत्तरकाण्डे ४५ सर्गे
वाल्मीक्याश्रम स्थाननिर्देशः

रामस्य लक्ष्मण प्रति सीतापरित्याग प्रसङ्गे,—
गङ्गायास्तु परे पारे वाल्मीकेस्तु महात्मनः ।
आश्रमो दिव्यसङ्काशस्तमसातीरमाश्रितः ॥ १७

Janakapur and Jānakigarha.

It may be interesting in this connection, to state that local tradition in Champaran claims that the capital of Mithilā or Videha under king Janaka was at Jānakigarha,

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तच्चैनां विजने देशे विसृज्य रघुनन्दन ।
शीघ्रमागच्छ सौमित्रे कुरुष्व वचनं मम ॥ १८
न चास्मि प्रतिवक्तव्यः सीतां प्रति कथञ्चन । इति ।

एषा च तमसा ऽयोध्यातो विदूरे गङ्गायाः परे पारे ब्रह्मावर्त्ते (विठूरप्रान्ते) वर्त्तते वाल्मीकेरा-
श्रमासे (तमसा) वहति ततः किञ्चिद्दूरे गङ्गास्ति, तथाच बालकाण्डे २ सं०

'समुहूर्त्तं गते तस्मिन्देवलोक मुनिस्तदा ।
जगाम तमसा तीरं जाह्नव्यास्त्व विदूरतः
सतुतीरं समासाद्य तमसाया मुनिस्तदा ।
शिष्यमाह स्थित पार्श्वे दृष्ट्वातीर्थमकर्द्दमम् ४
अकर्द्दममिदन्तीर्थं भरद्वाज निशामय ।
रमणीयं प्रसन्नाम्बु सन्मनुष्यमनो यथा ५
न्यस्यतां कलशस्तात दीयतां वल्कलं मम ।
इदमेवावगाहिष्ये तमसातीरमुत्तमम् ६

इदमेव अत्याश्रमम् गङ्गातीर्थन्तु दूरेऽतो मध्याह्न कालातिक्रमाद्गत्वेति शेषः ॥

Valmik places the river Tamśā in the kingdom of Kośalā and between Ayodhyā (Faizabad) and Prayāga (Allahabad) :—

अथ तमसास्थितिः ।

वाल्मीकी रामायण सर्ग ४५

"एवं विक्रोश तान्तेषां द्विजातीनां निवर्त्तने ।
ददृशे तमसा तत्र वारयन्तीव राघवम् ॥ १ ॥
"स्नातस्य तमसातीरे रामस्य ब्रुवतोगुणान् ।
गोकुलाकुलतीरायास्तमसाया विदूरतः ।
अवसत्तत्र तां रात्रिं रामः प्रकृतिभिः सह"
अर्धरात्रे च "तं स्यन्दन मधिष्ठाय राघवः सपरिच्छद
शीघ्रगामी कुलावर्त्तामतरत्तमसां नदीम् ॥" ..
"ततो वेदश्रुतिना शिववारिवहां नदीम्
उत्तीर्याभिमुखः प्रायादगस्त्याध्युषितां दिशम् ।
गत्वा तु सुचिरं कालं ततः शीतवहां नदीम् ।
गोमतीं गोयुतानूपामतरत्सागरङ्गमाम् ॥
गोमतीञ्चाप्यतिक्रम्य राघवः शीघ्रगैर्हयैः ।
मयूरहंसाभिरुता मतरत्स्यन्दिकां नदीम्" ..
"ततस्त्रिपथगां दिव्यां शीततोयामशैवलाम् ।
ददर्श राघवो गङ्गां रम्यामृषिनिषेविताम् ॥ ..
"आससाद महाबाहुः शृङ्गवेरपुरंप्रति ।
तामूर्मिकलिलावर्त्तामन्ववेक्ष्य महारथः ।
सुमन्त्रमब्रवीत्सूतमिहैवाद्यवसामहे"

some 10 miles north of Lauriya Nandanagarha. But it is no longer disputed that Janakapura, in the Nepal territory, was the real seat of king Janaka.[1] It is probable that some branch of the family ruled at Jānakigarha. It is also probable that some Janaka (as all the successors of Mithi, the first mythological king of Mithilā, were called Janakas) transferred his seat for some time to Jānakigarha.

Motihari, Kesariya, Lauriya Nandanagarha.

Local tradition claims that at one time or another Motihari, Kesariya and Lauriya Nandanagarha (all in Champaran) formed seats of the Vrijjian tribes.[2]

At Nandanagarha great mounds of earth still exist, erected probably to serve as sepulchral barrows for their rulers. In one of them one punch-marked silver coin has been found, which is said to be anterior to the time of Alexander the Great and may be as old as 1000 B.C.[3]

Birātapura in Darbhanga district.

It may be worth mentioning here that it is claimed that village Baratapura in the Darbhanga district is the site of the capital of the famous Rājā Birāt of the Mahābhārata. The same distinction is calimed for one or two villages of similar name in the Champaran district. But the Birātpura of the Mahābhārata lies, according to the *Birata Parva* of the Mahābhārata itself, in the Matsya

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ततो द्वितीयदिने—"विमले अभ्युदिते सूर्ये तस्माद्देशात्पुनस्थिरे ।
यत्र भागीरथी गङ्गा यमुनामभिवर्तते ॥ . .
गत्वा मुहूर्त्तमध्वानं भारद्वाजमुपागमत् ॥"

The famous Hindi poet, Tulasi Dasa who flourished in the 16th century A.D. also places the river Tamsa between Ayodhyā (Faizabed) and Prayāga (Allahabad) —*cf.* Tulasi's Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhya Kaṇḍa :

तमसा तीर निवास किय प्रथम दिवस रघुवीर ।

[1] *Cf.* the Brhad Viṣṇu Purāṇa, Mithilakhaṇḍa :—

गिरिजालयमारभ्य यावद्वै धनुष स्थिति ।
इति दुर्गस्य मर्यादा मिथिला सु महापुरी ॥

[2] *Cf.* Cunningham's 'History of India,' 1871, page 445.

[3] *Cf.* pp. 104-13 of the report on the Archæological Suryey of India, 1880; also p. 70 of the Archæological Survey Report, India, 1862-65, Vol. I.

The excavations at Lauriya Nandangarh have led to the discovery of metal coffins containing skeletons of large human figures. Both Kesariya and Lauriya Nandangarh must be ancient places as tradition relates that they were seats of Rājās Bena Cakravarty and Uttānapāda respectively. According to Purāṇa legends (Hindu mythology) Uttānapāda was son of Manu (the progenitor of mankind) and Bena was seventh in descent from him.

deśa," and therefore the claim made for these places in Tirhut is untenable.[1]

In this connection it may also be mentioned that in the Sabhā Parva of the Mahābhārata, it is stated that Bhīma went beyond the river Kauśikī (Kośī), but it is nowhere said in the Mahābhārata that he came across any place called Birātapura before crossing the river Kośī which is the easternmost boundary of Tirhut in the Purnea district.[2] Had it been in Mithilā, it was sure to be mentioned in the Sabhā Parva of the Mahābhārata as it (Birātpura) is one of the most important places described in the Mahābhārata.

Jamadagni and Mithilā.

The village Jamuā or one or two villages of similar name in the Darbhanga district claim to have been the hermitage of Yamadagni, father of the famous Paraśurāma, of the Hindu mythology. In Mahābhārata, Śanti Parva, it is stated that Paraśurāma practised his austerities on the hill called Gandha Mādana.[3] The account of Paraśurāma

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[1] The Mahabhārata, Birāta Parva, 1st Adhyāya, Bombay :—

युधिष्ठिर उवाच ॥ श्रुतमेतन्महावाहो यथा स भगवान्प्रभुः ॥ अब्रवीद् सर्वभूतेभ्यस्तथा न तदन्यथा। अवश्यं त्वेव वासार्थं रमणीयं शिवं सुखम् ॥ संमंत्र्य सहितैः सर्वैर्वस्तव्यम कुतो भयैः ॥ मत्स्योविराटो बलवान भिरक्षेत्स पांडवान् ॥ धर्मशीलोवदान्यश्च वृद्धश्च सततं प्रियः ॥ विराटनगरे तात संवत्सरमिमं वयम् । कुर्वंतस्तस्य कर्माणि विहरिष्याम भारत ॥

The Matsya Deśa lay to the south of the Kurus and to the west of the Surasenas, i.e. to the south of Thaneśwara and to the west of Mathurā. It is identified with the modern estate of Alwar in Rājaputānā and some adjacent districts (*cf.* Rapson's 'Ancient India,' p. 166, 1916); also *cf.* Mahābhārata, Birāt Parva, 5th Adhyāya :—

"उत्तरेण दशार्णांस्ते पञ्चालान्दक्षिणेन च।
अन्तरेण यकृल्लोमान्शूरसेनांश्च पाण्डवाः ।
लुब्धा ब्रुवाणा मत्स्यस्य विषयं प्राविशन्वनात् ।
धन्विनोवद्धनिस्त्रिंशा विवर्णाः श्मश्रुधारिणः ॥

General Cunningham locates Matsyadeśa in the vicinity of Jayapore and thinks its capital was Virat or Bairata about 105 miles from Delhi (to the south) *cf.* p. 206, Dowson's 'Hindu Classical Dictionary,' Trubner's Oriental Series.

[2] Mahābhārata (Sabhā Parva, 30th Adhyāya) describes the conquest of the Rājā of Videha (Mithilā) by Bhīma.

[3] *Cf.* Mahābhāratā Santi Parva, 48th and 49th Adhyayas, Bombay.

महाभा॰ शा॰ प॰ अ॰ ४८

कुरुक्षेत्रे युधिष्ठिरं प्रति कृष्णवाक्यम्

अभीरामह्रदाः पञ्च दृश्यन्ते पार्थदूरतः । येषु सन्तर्पयामास पितॄन् क्षत्रियशोणितैः ।
इत्येवं रामचरित उपक्रान्ते अ॰ ४९

even in the *Sahyadri Khanda* of the Skanda Purāṇa and other Puraṇas would place his original home near Mahiṣ-

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जह्नोरजस्तु तनयो बलाकाश्वश्च तत्सुतः ।
कुशिको नाम धर्मज्ञस्तस्य पुत्रोऽभवन्महीपते ॥
गाधिर्नामाभवत्पुत्रः कौशिकः पाकशासनः ।
तस्य कन्या भवद्राजन्नाम्ना सत्यवती प्रभो ॥
तां गाधिर्भृगुपुत्राय ऋचीकाय ददौ प्रभुः ।
तस्याः प्रीतः सभार्याय भार्गवः कुरुनन्दन ।
पुत्रार्थं श्रपयामास चरुं गाधेस्तथैव च ।
ततः सत्यवती पुत्रं जनयामास भार्गवम् ॥
तपस्यभिरतं शान्तं जमदग्निं यतव्रतम् ।
विश्वामित्रं च दायादं गाधिः कुशिकनन्दनः ।
यः प्राप ब्रह्मसमितं विश्वैर्ब्रह्मगुणैर्युतम् ।
ऋचीको जनयामास जमदग्निं तपोनिधिम् ॥
सोऽपि पुत्रं ह्यजनयज्जमदग्निं सुदारुणम् ।
सर्वविद्यां गतं श्रेष्ठं धनुर्वेदस्य पारगम् ॥
रामं क्षत्रियहन्तारं प्रदीप्तमिव पावकम् ।
तोषयित्वा महादेवं पर्वते गन्धमादने ॥
अस्त्राणि वरयामास परशुं चातितेजसम् ।
स तेनाकुण्ठधारेण ज्वलितानलवर्चसा ॥
कुठारेणाप्रमेयेण लोकेष्वप्रतिमोऽभवत् ॥

This Gandha Mādana would appear from the Kālika Purāṇa to be in Assam near the river Brahma Putra :—

कालिकापुराणे लौहित्यमहाख्याने ८४ अध्याय

शन्तनोर्मुनेरमोघायां भार्यायां ब्रह्मणो वीर्यस्य शन्तनुना आधाने कृते तस्या नासिका तोज- नासश्चयस्तन्मध्ये तनयश्चैकः समजनि ।

"तज्जातश्च तथाभूतं शन्तनुर्लोकशन्तनुः ।
चतुर्णामपि शैलानां मध्ये देशेऽन्यवीविशत् ॥
कैलासस्योत्तरे पार्श्वे दक्षिणे गन्धमादनः ।
जारुधिः पश्चिमे शैलः पूर्वे च सम्बुकाह्वयः ॥
तेषां मध्ये स्वयं कुण्डं पर्वतानां विधेः सुतः ।
हत्वा तिष्ठद्धि नित्यं शरदीव निशाकरः ॥
तत्तोयमध्यगं पुत्रमासाद्य द्रुहिणः स्वयम् ।
क्रमतस्तस्य संस्कारान् करोद्देव शुद्धये ॥
अथ काले बहुतिथे व्यतीते ब्रह्मणः सुतः ।
तोयराशिस्वरूपेण ववृधे पञ्चयोजनात् ।
तस्मिन्देवाः पपुस्तत्र द्वितीय इव सागरे ।
सीतामल जले स्वच्छे दिव्यंशाकरसांगणैः ॥
तस्मिन्नवसरे रामो जामदग्न्यः प्रतापवान् ।
चक्रे मातृवधं घोरसंयुक्तं पितुराज्ञया ॥

mati which is somewhere near the river Narbadā in the Central Provinces.[1]

तस्य पापस्य मोक्षाय स्वपितुश्चोपदेशतः ।
स जगाम महाकुण्डं ब्रह्माख्यं स्नातुमिच्छया ॥
तत्र स्नात्वा च पीत्वा च मातृहत्याम पानयत् ।
वीर्योस्परशुना हत्वातमश्याम तारयत् ॥

[1] *Cf* page 140 of the 'Early History of the Dekkan,' by R. G. Bhandarkara, Bombay, 1895, where it is said that "Mahismati" was the capital of Mahārāṣtra.
Also *cf*. Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa Uttara Kāṇḍa, 31st Sarga, which locates Mahiṣmati on "Naibadā" bank.

ततो महिष्मतीं नाम पुरीं स्वर्गपुरीप्रभाम् ।
संप्राप्तो यत्र सान्निध्यं सदा ऽसीद्वसुरेत सः ॥ ७ ॥
तुल्य आसीन्नृपस्तस्य प्रभावाद्वसुरेत सः ।
अर्जुनो नाम यत्राग्निः शरकुण्डेशयः सदा ॥ ८ ॥
तमेव दिवसं सोथ हैहयाधिपति र्बली ।
अर्जुनो नर्मदां रन्तु गतः स्त्रीभिः सहेश्वरः ॥ ९ ॥
तमेव दिवसं सोथ रावणस्तत्र ध्यागतः ।
रावणो राक्षसेन्द्रस्तु तस्यामात्यान पृच्छत ॥ १० ॥

Cf. also the Brahmāṇda Purāṇa.

अथ कार्तवीर्यार्जुनस्य हैहयेश्वरस्य नर्मदा समीपे महिष्मत्यां निवासः। परशुरामस्यापि तत्र नर्मदातटे माहिष्मत्या अविदूरे आश्रमः तथा च ब्रह्माण्डपुराणे २९ अध्याये ।

"एवं पित्रोर्महाराज शुश्रूषां भृगुपुंगवः ।
प्रकुर्वंस्संहितेयात्मा भ्रातृणां चाविशेषतः ॥
एतस्मिन्नेव काले तु कदाचिद्धैहयेश्वरः ।
इयेष मृगयां गन्तुं चतुरङ्ग बलान्वितः ॥

सरज्यमाने गगने बन्धूक कुसुमारुणे .. नर्मदातीरतीर्थन्तमवतीर्याश्वचारिणि । तत्तीरे—

कृतमैत्रादिको राजा मृगयां हैहयेश्वरः ।
निर्ययौ नगरात्तस्मात्पुरोहित समन्वितः ॥
पुनः मध्ये दिनकरे प्राप्ते ससैन्यः सतदा नृपः ।
नर्मदां घर्मसन्तप्तः पिपासुरगमज्जनैः ।
.विसश्राम चतत्तीरे तरुखण्डोपमण्डिते ।
आताम्र सानेतिग्मांशौ ससैन्यः सानुगो नृपः ॥
निश्चक्राम पुरं गन्तु विन्ध्याद्रि वनगह्वरात् ।
सगच्छन्नेव ददृशे नर्मदातीरमाश्रितम् ॥
आश्रमं पुण्यशीलस्य जमदग्नेर्महात्मनः " इत्यादि ।

अथ तमाश्रमं प्राप्ते मुनिना सत्कृतो गृहं गन्तुमाज्ञाम्प्रार्थितवान् ॥ ततः सराजा सुप्रीतो जमदग्निमभाषत । महर्षेद्देहिमेनुज्ञां गमिष्यामि स्वकम्पुरम् इति ततो मुनिना ऽतिथि सत्कारं कामधेनु प्रभावाल्लब्ध्वा प्रातर्गृहं गच्छन्मन्त्रिणा चन्द्रगुप्तेन तत्प्रभावकथनपूर्वकं हरणाय प्रोचोजितो राजा कथंचित्तमेवादिदेश । स तथा कुर्वन्मुनिं हतवान् । तेन क्रोधातुरो जामदग्न्यः (परशुरामः निःक्षत्रामवनीमकरोदिति स्थितिः ॥

This would put Yamadagni Paraśurāma out of Mithila, but we know the admitted fact that Paraśurāma suddenly turned up at the marriage of Rāma and Sita at Janakapura, and it is probable that Yamadagni and his son Paraśurāma founded a settlement somewhere in or near Mithilā. This would make the claim of these villages apparently tenable.

The village Ahiyari in the Darbhanga district justly claims the distinction of having been visited by Rāma on his way to Mithilā (Janakapura). It is related that at Ahiyari (or Ahilyapura) stood the hermitage of sage Gautama, whose jealous harshness had turned his wife Ahilya into stone and that Rāma miraculously restored her to human life.[1]

The river Kosi or Kausiki which forms the easternmost boundary of Tirhut (as popularly and traditionally known) has its legendary accounts in Rāmāyaṇa and *Mahābhārata*.

Sitamarhi in the Muzaffarpur district claims the distinction of having been the birth-place of Sita visited by Rāma.

Hajipur in the Muzaffarpur district claims distinction of having been the point at which Rāma crossed over from the southern side of river Ganges. According to Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa,[2] Rāma first crossed the river Sona and passed a day between the Sona and the Ganges before crossing the latter. The relative position of the Sona and the Ganges even at the present day would lend some colour to this claim for distinction.

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[1] *Cf.* pp. [2] *Cf.* pp.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

VAIS'ĀLĪ.

Seat of Government shifted from Janakapura to Baiśālī.

We have seen that the Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad as well as the Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa abound with glorious accounts of the monarchical rulers of Mithilā with their capital at Janakapura. There is no mention of Vaiśālī in Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad, but the Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa gives an account of its monarchical rulers specially of Sumati with whom Rāma stayed for a night after crossing the Ganges and before proceeding to Mithilā. The Pauranic accounts make Sumati the last of a line of 34 kings, amongst whom was Visala, the great king, who founded Vaiśālī. This would show that Vaiśālī existed as a kingdom before Rāma's time and was probably as old as the neighbouring kingdom of Mithilā which saw its foundation during the period of the Satapatha Brahman[1] or the Ṛg Veda. In the 6th century B.C. when Buddha lived, Vaiśālī was certainly (as we shall see) the seat of a most powerful oligarchical republic under the class or race of people among whom the most powerful clans (in the Buddhistic records) were the Vrijjians or the Licchāvis. There is no mention of any monarchical rulers of Mithilā in the Buddhistic records about Buddha's time. It may therefore be taken as a historical fact that the Vrijjian oligarchical republic replaced the old monarchical rule of Videha and Vaiśālī at an early period and that the seat of the central Government shifted from Janakapura in the Nepal Tarai to Vaiśālī (modern Basarha)[1] in the district

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[1] J.R.A.S. 1902, pp. 267, 288 and also Dr. Bloch's exacavation at Basarha, Archæological Survey Annual Report, 1903-04, pp. 81 to 102.

Cf. also Rapson's 'Ancient India,' 1916, p. 169, *Vaiśālī—modern Basārha—* in the Hajipur Subdivision of Muzaffarpur district.

The ancient site is marked by a large mound of ruins and by a magnificent uninscribed pillar of Asoka, which is surmounted by the figure of a lion."

This pillar is a monolith at village Kolwa locally known as Bhima Simha's Láthi (club) supporting a lion carved in stone. It consists of a pillar, 24 feet high,

of Muzaffarpur) which came into prominence in the 6th century B.C.

It is probable that the Licchāvis of Vaiśālī were in occupation of Magadha before Bimbisāra of Magadh (south Bihar) (who is called "Seniya" or "Senāpati," i.e. Military Commander) started on his conquering career in the 6th century (B.C.) It is not known whose Senāpati he was before he became a king, but it is certain that he expelled the Licchāvis from Magadha and founded or consolidated his dynasty. One of the very ancient Buddhistic texts[1]

on the top of which is a pedestal with the lion. The cylinder is in one piece, the height of the whole being about 30 feet. Its depth below ground must be very great, as some persons dug down several feet, but failed to reach the foundation. The stone is covered with names, many of them English and of these some date from 1793.

The identity of the lion pillar at Basarh with one of Asoka's pillars is sometimes doubted, but its style of structure and its proximity to the ruins identified with ancient Vaiśālī make it certain that it is an Asoka's pillar though it does not contain Asoka's usual inscription-edict.

As regards the location of ancient Vaiśālī itself, both General Cunningham and Mr. V. A. Smith have identified ancient Vaiśāli with the ruins at modern Basārh. But Dr. Hoey proposed Cherand in the Saran district to the west of river Gandak as the sight of Vaiśālī. This is however untenable. It appears from an inscription appertaining to miniature paintings of two palm-leave manuscripts (तीरभुक्तौ वैशाली तारा = Tārā of Vaiśāli in Tirhut) published by M. Foucher and assigned to the 12th century A.D. that Vaiśālī lay in Tirhut. It is admitted that the district of Saran never formed part of Tirhut in the ancient times. We also know that Mahābira, the developer of Jainism, has been described in the ancient Jainese scriptures as Vaiśāliya, i.e. an inhabitant of Vaiśālī and it is also related there that his birth-place, Kundagam, lay in Videha (i.e. Tirhut). *Cf.* Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XXII, p. 10.

Now we know that the ruins at Basarh are popularly known as Rājā Visāla's fort and one of the adjacent villages is called Kollua which may correspond to Kundagam or another form of it, Kallaga. The position of Basarh in relation to other places like Patna, etc., fits in exactly with the position of Vaiśālī in regard to Pataliputra and other localities. It is also remarkable that the ruins called Raja *Visal ka garh* which still preserve the name of Vaiśāla, the founder of Vaiśālī, agrees in its circumference of about 5000 ft. with the distance of 4 to 5 li which Hiuen Thsang gives as a circuit of the Vaiśālī palace. We have got here a lion pillar and Hiuen Thsang says that such a pillar was erected at Vaiśāli by Asoka though he puts down its height at about 50 ft. North of it are the ruins of a brick stupa, and to the south an ancient brick-faced tank, corresponding to Hiuen Thsang's stupa of Asoka and to the Markatahrada, or 'Monkey Tank' respectively. The distance of these from the fort is about 2 miles. It is true that Hiuen Thsang's account omits the distance, but we know at least so much that they lay to the north-west of the palace and that its distance exceeded one mile.

Several seals, etc., discovered at the Basarh ruins clearly mention Vaiśālī. *Cf.* pp. 82-123 of the Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1903-04.

The identity of Basārha with Vaiśālī is also helped by the name Bisārā of the revenue division (Pargana) within which Basarh lies. In the 'Ain-I-Akbari' Bisara or Basara is mentioned as a mahal included in Sarkar Hajipur, *cf.* 'Ain-i-Akbari' trans. by Jarret, Vol. II, p. 155 (1910).

As regards Janakapur its identity is settled by Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa where it is related that it lay to the north-east of Ahilyāsthana in the Darbhanga district.

[1] *Cf.* 'Sutta Nipata,' verses 38, 976, 977, 1011-3; also Bhandarkar's Carmichael Lectures, 1918.

speaks of Vaiśālī as Magadhapurā, i.e. capital of Magadha or South Bihar and describes the passage of the 16 disciples of the Brāhmaṇa Bavarin (who lived somewhere on the bank of the river Godāvarī in Southern India) whom he deputed to pay homage to Buddhā and who went through Vaiśālī (Magadhapurā) to Pasanaka Chetiya where Buddhā then happened to be.

Vrijjians of Vaiśālī.

An account of the Vrijjians[1] of Vaiśālī[2] may not be out of place here.

The Vrijjians were divided into several confederate clans, of whom the Licchāvis[3] came into collision with the mighty kingdom of Magadha. King Bimbisāra of Magadha married princess Chellana, daughter of King Cetaka of Vaisālī (Cr. 530 B.C.).[4] His son Ajāta Satru conquered Vaiśālī in 490 B.C. after defeating nine confederate Licchāvi and confederate Malla kings and became master of his maternal grandfather's kingdom. Thus king Ajātaśatru of Magadha whose capital was at Pātaliputra (modern Patna) which lay on the frontier of Magadha and on the bank of the river Ganges which divided the Licchāvi from the Magadha Kingdom, conquered Vaiśalī and occupied

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1 The Vrijjians consisted of 8 confederate clans, of whom the Licchavis of Vaiśālī and Videhas of Mithilā were most powerful, *cf.* Rhys Davids' 'Buddhist India,' p. 25.

2 Vaiśālī was so called on account of Rājā Viśāla, *cf.* his account in the Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa or it may be that the word Vaiśālī is derived from the word "Visāla" (Sanskrit) = big, large.

3 (i) V. A. Smith's 'Early History of India,' 3rd edition, special Chapter II, etc., etc.
(ii) Beal's 'Life of Hiuen-Tsiang' (1914).
(iii) Rhys Davids' 'Ywan-chwang's Travels in India' (Royal Asiatic Society, 1914).
(iv) Legg's 'Travels of Fa-Hian in India' (Clarendon Press, 1866).

Todd in his 'Rājsthāna' (Part VII) gives an account of the Licchāvi family. He calls them of the solar race and on the ground of several inscriptions and ancient written literature found in Nepal about them, he thinks that they first established themselves in Nepal. He mentions certain Licchāvi Rājās who reigned in Nepal and Puspapura (Patna), as is borne out by an inscription in the temple of Pasupati at Kathmandu in Nepal, Cir. Srihara's Sambat 153 = Bikrama Samvat 1816 = 1756 A.D. or so; also *cf.* I. A. IX, 168; XIII, 411; XIV, 97 and 342; also J.R.A.S., LVIII, chart, p. 100.

It may be interesting to remember that Dandi in his Dasakumāra Caritam (Uttara, 3rd part) which is said to have been composed in the year 600 A.D. describes the intimate friendship between the then ruling princes and their queens of Mithilā and Pātaliputra (Magadha). As regards the date of Daskumāra Caritam, *cf.* Macdonell's 'Sanskrit Literature' (1905), p. 332; also Duff's 'Chronology of India' (1899), p. 44.

4 'Sacred Books of the East,' Vol. XXII, Introduction by Jacobi, p. 266.

Her name was Vasavi, niece of Gopal, according to a Tibetan account (Rockhill's Life of Buddha, p. 63).

Tirhut. It appears that when Buddha visited Pātaliputra shortly before his death, Sunidha and Bassakara, Chief Ministers of Magadha, were busy in building a strong fortress there to repel the Licchāvis.[1]

It is not known what happened to Vaiśālī after Ajātasatru (nicknamed Kunika). It is most probable that it continued to be ruled from Patna during the reigns of kings Candragupta and Aśoka of the Maurya dynasty during the fourth and the third centuries B.C.

The Licchāvis and Vrijjians are supposed to be of Tibetan origin.[2] They may be regarded as a ruling clan

[1] *Cf.* 'Mahāparinirvvāna Suttras, I, 26, and 'Mahabhagga' VI, 28, 7.

[2] *Cf.* 'The Indian Antiquary,' p. 233, 1903.

This supposition rests on no sure grounds. Beal in his 'Buddhist records of Western World, Volume II,' 'Trubner's Oriental Series' has dealt with the subject at XIII (intro.) where he writes :—

"After a month and five days they, i.e. Fahian's party, reached Khotan. This country has been identified with Li-yul of the Tibetan writers. There is some reason for connecting this 'land of Li' with the Licchāvis of Vaiśālī. It is said by Csoma Korosi 'that the Tibetan writers derive their first king (about 250 B.C.) from the Lissabysis or Lichavyis'. The chief prince or ruler of the Licchavis was called the 'great lion' or 'the noble lion'. This is probably the explanation of Maha-li used by Spence Hardy as 'the nàme of the king of the Lichawis'. Khotan would thus be the land of the lion-people (Simhas). Whether this be so or not, the polished condition of the people and their religious zeal indicate close connection with India, more probably with Baktria. The name of the great temple, a mile or two to the west of the city, called the Nava sargharama, or royal 'new temple', is the same as that on the south-west of Balkh described by Hiuen Tsiang; and the introduction of Vaisravana as the protector of this convent, and his connection with Khotan, the kings of that country being descended from him, indicate a relationship, if not race, at least of intercourse between the two kingdoms."

And again on page 70 he writes :—

"We may conclude that the people of Vaiśālī were a Northern people allied to the Yuechi, which illustrates the observation of Csoma Korosi, 'that Tibetan writers derive their first king about 250 B.C. from the Litsabyis or Licchavis ('Manual of Buddhism,' p. 136, note). The Sakya family of Buddha is also said to belong to this tribe. (Memoirs by V. de St. Martin, p. 367, note.) The symbols used by the Chinese for the Yuechi and for the Vrijjis are the same. Unless we are to suppose a much earlier incursion of these people into India than is generally allowed, the date of the Southern books of Buddhism (the book of the Great Decease and others), which contain accounts respecting the character, habits, and dress of the Licchāvis (which correspond with the Northern accounts), must be brought down considerably later than the assumed date of the reduction of the Pali canon. But, on the other hand, if it be true that the incursion of these people took place when Pātaliputra was strengthened as a fortified outpost to repel their advance, i.e. about the time of Buddha, then we must allow an early advance on their part into India. We know they were regarded as intruders, for Ajatśatru, king of Magadha, was desirous to attack and root out 'these Vrijjians,' and it was he also who strengthened the city of Pataliputra. The question deserves consideration."

It is hardly necessary to say more than that this argument is not convincing. It is admitted that the Buddhist priests from Magadha and Tirhuta (Licchāvis) went in large numbers to preach in Tibet during Asoka's time, and it may be supposed with equal force that they obtained not only spiritual ascendancy but some one of them assumed kingly authority in Tibet. The word "Li" (Chinese=

akin to the Kṣatriyas but their descendants are now all mixed up with the Tirhutians.

Division of Vaiśālī.

Vaiśālī was a big city made up of the three component parts of Vaiśālī (modern Basārha) inhabited chiefly by Brāhmaṇas, Kuṇḍagrama (modern Basukuṇḍa) inhabited chiefly by Kṣatriyas and Banikagrāma where Mahāvira Vardhamāna was born (modern Bania) inhabited by Vaiṣyas.[1] These villages are now mostly inhabited by Bhūmihāra Brāhmaṇas Vaiśālī enjoyed marvellous prosperity. A triple wall encompassed the city, each wall a league distant from the next and there were three gates with watch towers.[2]

Vaiśālī an oligarchical republic.

Vaiśālī was an oligarchical republic governed by a senate, the membership of which was made up of the heads of the ruling clans the chief executive officer of each

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lion) found in common with some Northern people and the Licchavis does not carry matters far—for there is no explanation forthcoming of the remainder—Chav or it may be within the range of possibility that a section of the Licchāvis who occupied Nepal, moved on to Khotan.

Ajatsatru's onslaught of the Licchāvis does not help the theory for he attacked not only the Licchāvis but also the people of other parts of India, who were surely not intruders.

If the Licchāvis were of foreign Tibetan or Chinese origin there was sure to be some mention of this origin in the great Sanskrita Epics (Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata) and the Purāṇas especially as it is certain that they had established themselves at Vaiśālı long before Buddha's time, i.e. long before 500 B.C. Though the Licchāvis have been mentioned as Nicāvis in the Manusamhitā (X—22) which is a Brahmanical text, and which is not assigned to an earlier period than the 1st century A.D., there is no mention of their foreign origin.

भल्लो मल्लश्च राजन्याद् व्रात्या निच्छिविरेव च ।

नटश्च करणश्चैव खसो द्रविड एव च ॥

They are described as quasi-Kṣatriyas (probably because they were Buddhists).

V. A. Smith has contributed an interesting note—Indian Antiquary, 1903, p. 233—on Tibetan origin of the Licchāvis, but one may venture to think that his argument is as much in favour of the Tibetan origin of the Licchāvis as of the Licchāvi or Indian origin of some of the Tibetan tribes. He finds similarity between the Licchāvi and the Tibetan modes of disposal of dead bodies as well as between their systems of law. But if the Licchāvi Buddhists (who surely shared this custom with other people of India) could transplant their Buddhism in Tibet, is it too much to think that they could transplant some of their customs as well. It may be interesting to note that Dr. Satis Chandra Vidyābhuṣana gives the Licchāvis a Persian origin (*cf.* Ind. Antiquary, p. 78, 1908) and thinks that they migrated to Tirhut from Nisibis, a port in Persia, and that in course of time, their name "Nisibis" turned into "Licchāvi." But this is highly improbable as there is absolutely no record, Indian or foreign, of any Persian settlement especially as admittedly the Licchāvis were a highly civilised and long-settled and most powerful class in Tirhut in the 6th century B.C. when Nisibis came into existence.

[1] *Cf.* V. A. Smith on Vaiśālī, J.R.A.S., 1902, p. 267.

[2] *Cf.* Eka Panna Jataka, Buddha's Jatakas, Chambers, Vol. I, p. 316, 1895.

clan being called the Rājā or king. It is said that there were 7,707 such Rājās in the kingdom. Each Rājā was assisted by a viceroy, a general and a treasurer.[1]

The Licchavis and Vrijjians, who were Kṣatriyās, were राज शब्दोप जीविनः गणराजानः i.e. they lived by the title of kings and were communal or republican heads unlike the Kambhojās and Śaurastrās (Kṣatriyās),[2] who lived by agriculture, trade and wielding weapons (i e. mercenary, tribal bands).

It is clear that all these 7,707 families were equals of one another in position, and it is stated that if quarrel broke out amongst the families, the heads of the families should not remain indifferent as the Gaṇa might otherwise be dissolved. But whether there were actually as many as 7,707 Licchāvi kings is by no means certain though their number must have been large enough. It seems as if each Licchāvi king (whom Kautilya calls "Rājā Subdopajivinah" called by the name or title of kings) had his own separate principality where he exercised independent powers in certain respects. Otherwise it is not clear why each Licchāvi king should have his own Uparājā (Viceroy), Senāpati (general) and Bhaṇḍagarikā (treasurer). But there is nothing on record to show in what respects they enjoyed individual powers and in what respects they exercised corporate powers.

The Licchāvis of Vaisālī and the Mallas of Kuśina-

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1 *Cf.* Eka Panna Jatakas, Buddhas Jataka, Chambers, Vol. I, p 315, 1896.

2 Kautilya's 'Arthaśāstra' translated by R. Śāmā Śāstri, Bangalore, 1915. p. 455.

The idea is that every one of these was called or passed for a Rājā (king) (in relation to his own class or community) though he was not really a king (in relation to the whole or general community). Considerable controversy centres round the expression गणराजानः (Gaṇarājanah), but the plain meaning of the word 'Gaṇa' in Sanskrit is a body of followers, a group, a tribe or class, or an association of persons formed for the same object. Following the analogy of गणदेवता (Gaṇadevatāh), lit. groups of deities who generally appear in classes or troops (*cf*, Amara Kosa).

आदित्य विश्ववस वस्तुषिता भास्वरानिलाः ।
महाराजिकसाध्याश्च रुद्राश्च गणदेवताः ॥

गणराजानः (ganarajanah) would mean a group of rajas (kings) who worked together in a body. It follows that each individual Raja (king) was a king (absolute) only in relation to his own class, but was only a limb of the whole body of kings in relation to the affairs of the numerous classes or communities jointly

garam were ruled by the corporate heads of their families called Samghas or Gaṇas (=groups or clans). In the course of a discussion,[1] Buddha asked a Jaina monk named Sacchaka whether Pasonādi, king of Kośala or Ajātasatru, king of Magadha, had power to banish, burn, or destroy a man in his dominions. At the time of this discussion, some Licchāvis were present, and Sacchaka pointing to them said that if the Samghas and Gaṇas like the Licchāvis or Mallas exercised this power in their own kingdoms, certainly Ajātasatru and Pasonādi possessed this power. All the members of this Samgha or Gaṇa were called kings and their sons were designated as Licchāvi-Kumāras.

There was a special tank with the water of which the heads of the "Gaṇarājānahs" (the heads of the ruling families) were sprinkled while being crowned. This tank was covered[2] with an iron net so that not even a bird could get through and a strong guard was set to prevent any one taking water from it. This tank was called "Vaisālī nagara Gaṇa Rāja Kulānām abhiṣeka-maṅgala-pokkharāṇī."[2] This shows that the political Saṁgha or group was called Gaṇa which consisted of various Rāja Kulas or royal families of the principal members or heads of which constituted the ruling class or Gaṇa. Thus it is clear that the real executive power was vested in the group of the heads of the ruling families and that no single member of the Gaṇa or group was by himself a Rājā or ruler in the proper sense of the word.

The Licchāvis had an excellent legal procedure and their law did not admit of the punishment of guilty persons unless the guilt was conclusively brought home to the accused,[3] and they had their own codes called Paveṇi Potthaka (Pramāṇa Pustak?) (based probably on precedents) to guide them

Pramāṇo Pustaka.

[1] *Cf.* the Majjhima Nikaya, I, 231.; also Bhandarkar's "Carmichael Lectures," 1918.

[2] *Cf.* Buddha Sāla Jātaka, IV, 148 9 and 11, 21-2.

[3] *Cf.* Buddha Ghosh's Commentary on the Parinibbanasuttam (Athakathā and Sumangala Vilasini). V. A. Smith (*Cf.* Indian Antiquary, 1903, p. 233) observes similarity between the judicial system of Vaisālī and that of Tibet. He has not, however, given full details, but if the account of the Criminal Procedure of Tibet as given by Sarat Chandra Dāsa (in the J.A.S., Bengal, 1895, p. 5) is correct, the similarity cannot hold good, inasmuch as in Tibet accused persons are subjected to all sorts of tortures as soon as they are arrested throughout the various stages before their formal conviction, whereas in Vaisālī, which was a republic, the accused was never maltreated before his conviction and was never convicted

in matters of civil usage. They disposed of their dead bodies either by cremation or by burial or by exposure.[1]

It may be mentioned that Mithilā and in particular Vaisālī are closely associated with the names of Buddha (the founder of Buddhism) and of Mahābīra Vardhamān (the developer of Jainism) who were contemporaries. Mahābīra, or Vardhamān as he is generally called, was a native of Vaisālī and is therefore called the Vaiśaliya or Nataputta (i.e. the son of the Nata, a clan of Kṣatriyas, who were settled at Kollage, a suburb of the town of Vaisālī). His father Siddhārtha was married to a daughter of Cetaka, the then governing king of Vaisālī and was thus closely related to King Bimbisara of Magadha. Their son Mahābīra was born in or about 599 B.C. He entered upon his spiritual career at the age of 30 and in his long, wandering life of 42 years, he gathered a considerable following of monks, known as the Nigranthas,[2]

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unless he had passed through several officers, such as Vinischay Mahāmatra Vyavahārika, Sutradhāra (i.e-hearer of law-maxims). Asthā Kulika (officer over 8 Kulas or families), Śenāpati (General) Uparāja (Viceroy) and last of all the Rājā (King) who after consulting the "Paveni Potthaka" inflicted a suitable punishment.

1 V. A. Smith (Ind. Antiquary, 1903. pp. 233-4) thinks that this practice of exposure was borrowed from Tibet where it is prevalent. But it may be remarked that though the present day Hindus dispose of their dead bodies only by cremation or by burial (as in cases of Sanyāsis and children) still it appears that this custom prevailed not only among the Licchāvis but also at least among the people of Magadha.

Fahien, who visited Magadha in the 4th century A.D., writes:—

"North of the Vihara was the Smasānam which name means in Chinese the field of graves into which the dead bodies are thrown" (Legg's Translation of Fahien's Travels, Clarendon Press edition, 1886, p. 84).

Also it appears that in ancient days exposure of dead bodies was resorted to in several places in India (Rhys Davids' Buddhist India, p. 80).

Thus it may be taken that it was an indigenous Indian custom which has now mostly disappeared.

2 In Sanskrit, Nirgrantha=without ties.

For the date of Mahābira's death, *cf.* Burgess, Ind. Ant., II, 139, Weber Sacred Literature of the Jains, p. 133; also Barodia, History and Literature of the Jains, Bombay, 1909; Mrs. Sinclair-Stevenson, Notes on Modern Jainism, Blackwell, Oxford, 1910; Hoernle (Proceedings, A.S.B., 1898, pp. 39-53; also Hoernle, Ind. Ant. XX, 360; also *ibid*, ii, 363; ix, 158; xi, 245-246; xiii, 279; xxi, 57; and xxiii, 169, Jacobi, S.B.E., Vol. XXII, XLV, Introduction; also I.A., VIII, 30, and XV, 143; also J R.A.S., Jan., 197, pp. 122-130.

Although the Digambara and Svetambara sects agree in placing the death of Mahavīra 470 years before Vikrama, whose era begins in 58 B.C., the Digambaras reckon back from the birth and the Svetambaras from the accession of Vikrama. The records indicate that 551 or 543 or 527 B.C. may be regarded as the traditional date. Sthulabhadra, ninth successor of Mahāvīra, who was mantrin of the ninth Nanda, is said to have died either 215 or 219 years after the death of Mahāvīra, the same year in which Nanda was slain by Chandragupta. Puśyamitra, who came to the throne, cir. 185 B.C., is placed in the period 323-53 after

or men who discarded all social bonds. They came to be known as Jains after Mahābīra's death about 527 B.C. The followers of Mahābīra from different parts of the country visited Vaisālī where the Licchāvis used regularly to carry on discourses and disputations on high problems of life. The Jains are said to have been valiant disputants. Both men and women took part in the discourses, at the end of which some of them were united in wedlock on account of their agreement of views or as the outcome of mutual regard for their attainments.[1]

It may, however, be remembered that such a religious toleration was sometimes absent at Vaiśālī where the followers of the one religion often decried the tenets of the other religion.[2]

The "Kalpa Śūtra" tells us that when Mahābīra died there was a splendid illumination[3] at Vaiśālī which signified the enlightenment of human souls under Mahābīra's teachings.

Buddha delivered Vaisālī from a pestilence.

Buddha was invited to Vaiśālī to deliver the people from a desolating pestilence. The miraculous coincidence of his arrival at Vaiśālī with the disappearance of the pestilence appears to have created a great impression and drawn a great number of disciples to Buddha. He left Vaiśālī after some time, but he visited it twice again and passed through it on his way to Kuśinagara (Cir. 487 B.C.)[4] where he died.

Mahāvīra. Some Jaina traditions assign this event to 467 B.C., but this is at variance with the Buddhist tradition that Buddha died after Mahābīra.

1 *Cf.* the Kulla Kalinga Jataka, Chambers' translation.

2 *Cf.* the Mahābhāgga, Chap. 6, Section 31.

3 It is a question if this had anything to do with the Hindu festival Dipāvali which is observed by the Hindus as well as by the Jainas.

4 That the death of Buddhā occurred about 487 B.C. is based on the following arguments:—

(i) Dr. Fleet at one time held 482 B.C. to be 'the most probable and satisfactory date that we are likely to obtain' (J.R.A.S., 1906; p. 667).

(ii) A tradition places Dharma Aśoka 250 years after the Nirvāṇa of Buddhā, and makes him contemporary with the Chinese Emperor, She-hwang-ti, the builder of the Great Wall, who came to the throne in 246 B.C., became 'universal emperor' in 221, and reigned until 210 (Sarat Candra Dāsa, J.A.S B, Part I, 1886, pp. 193-203; and Rockhill, Life of the Buddhā, pp. 233, 237.

(iii) The 'dotted record' kept up at Canton until A.D. 489 showed 975 dots up to that year; 975−489=486 (Takakusu, J.R.A.S., 1905, p. 51).

(iv) Paramārtha, author of the Life of Vasubandhu, places the teachers Vrisha-gaṇa and Vindhya-vāsa, who flourished in the fifth century after Christ, as living in the tenth century after the Nirvāṇa (487+413=900).

Cf. also I.A. vi, 154; J.B.A.S., xxiii, 704; and C.A.S.R., iii, 126.

Order of Buddhistic nuns

It may be interesting to mention that it was at Vaisālī that Buddha established the order of nuns[1] at the request of his cousin and disciple Ānanda and his widowed mother.

Buddha had great regard for the Licchāvis; when Ajātasatru, king of Pataliputra, sent his Minister to Buddha to take his advice as to his subduing the Licchāvis, Buddha[2] said:—

"So long as the Vajjians hold full and frequent assemblies, so long as they live in unity and concord, so long as they act according to their ancient institutions, without enacting anything new or abrogating anything already established, so long as they honour their elders, so long as no women or girls belonging to their class are detained among them by force or abduction, so long as they honour the Vajjian shrines and observe their ancient religious rites, so long as they support and protect the Arhats—so long may the Vajjians be expected not to decline but to prosper."

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[1] *Cf.* Vasali by V. A. Smith, J.B.A.S., iv, 1902, pp. 267-288.

[2] *Cf.* Maha Pari Nibbana Sutra, Chaps. 4 and 5.

Ajātasatru had no other alternative but to adopt the "divide and rule" policy to subjugate the Licchāvis of Vaisālı. The extract below from the translation of the Attha Kathā will be instructive.

"In order to dissolve the alliance of the Vajjians, the king and his minister hit upon a plan." The minister, in the Council of Ajātasatru, shall say: "Let *the Vajjians go on with their agricultural and commercial work," and quit the* council. Thereupon the king shall say: "What does the Brahmin mean by interdicting our discussions regarding the Vajjians?" The minister will send some tribute to the Vajjians and the king will bring a charge against the minister and cut off all his hair. Then as he is the person by whom the ramparts and ditches of the king's capital were constructed and as he knows the strong and the weak, the high and the low parts of the king's fortifications, he will tell the Vajjians that he will be able to remove any obstacles the king can lay. When this will be accepted by the Vajjians the king will say, "let them come."

"The minister departed for Vaisālī, some did not want to receive him, others received him on the ground that he was so treated because he had advocated their cause and he, having been the Judicial Minister there, became so, also, at Vaiśālı. Then he disunited them in the following manner. He once asked a Licchāvi prince mysteriously, "Do people plough land?" another prince who was there asked him what he said and did not believe the answer given and so they quarelled with each other. Another time the minister asked a Licchāvi prince privately, in the presence of another, "With what curry did you eat your rice?" This also, in a similar manner brought about a dissension between the two. On another occasion, he said to a Licchavi, "Are you a coward?" to another "Are you a beggar" for he said, that others had been calling them so. Thus in course of years the Licchāvis were entirely disunited. Then he requested the king to attack Vaiśālı and he accordingly advanced with a large army. The tocsin of Vaiśālī was sounded, but the people disregarded the call, saying, "Let the rich and the valiant assemble, we are beggars and cowards." The Vajjians again and again beat the tocsin but every time without effect. Thus they were easily conquered by Ajātasatru."

On another occasion, Buddha was invited and worshipped by a courtesan of Vaisālī named Ambapāli. The Licchāvis who disliked his taking meals there, wanted to take him to their own place, and Buddha[1] beholding them from some distance, said :—

"O brethren, let those of the brethren who have never seen the Tavatimsa gods, gaze upon this company of the Licchāvis, behold the company of the Licchāvis even as a company of the Tavatimsa gods."

The Licchāvis on their part built a large number of monasteries and tanks for Buddha[2] and his followers. People from all parts of the country used to visit Vaisālī as a sacred place.[3] Buddha used to engage in deep spiritual discussions with the Licchāvis who were a cultured people (as is borne out by several "Jātakas" and the "Dhammapada") in the Kutāgāra hall (gabled hall) which the Licchāvis had among other buildings erected especially for the purpose of Buddha's discourses.

The Licchāvis were thoroughly devoted to Buddha. When he passed Vaisālī on his way to Kuśinagaram for his Parinirvāṇa (i.e. to breathe his last), the Licchāvis of Vaisālī followed him and to send them back to their homes, Buddha is said to have presented his alms bowl to them, to have drawn upon his miraculous powers and to have made a mighty river appear between himself and the Licchāvis who were thus compelled to retrace their steps.

Keśariya in Champaran district is supposed to be the spot where Buddha took leave of the Licchāvis and where he presented his alms bowl to them. It is believed that they erected a stupa over the spot where the alms bowl was presented by Buddha.[4]

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1 Maha Parinibbana Suttam, Chap. 2.

There appears to have been an office conferred by the Vrijjian rulers on a female designated the "Nagara-sobhini-Thanatavan" which may signify "the chief beauty of the place." *Cf.* J.A.S.B., Vol. VII, p. 992.

2 *Cf.* S.B.E., Vol. XI, p. 24.

3 The wife of Bandhula, the Commander-in-Chief of Kośalā, when pregnant, said to her husband, "My lord, I desire to go to the tank in the city of Vaisālī to bathe in it and drink its sacred water, which is used by kings for ceremonial sprinkling at their coronation (Buddhasālā Jātaka, Vol. 4, p. 148).

4 *Cf.* Beal's Buddhistic Records of the Western World, p. LII.

Keśariya contains what is popularly called Rājā Bena Cakravarti's deora (stupa) surrounded by a sheet of water known as Rājā Bena's digha. Rāja Bena is said to have been a Buddhist Rājā (*Cf.* Troyer, in Rājā Taringini, I, 405). The ruins known locally as Rājā Bena's ranivāsa was apparently a Buddhist monastery.

Buddha's connection with Tirhut.

We are told that Buddha rode from his father's house on his favourite white steed Kaṇṭhaka accompanied by his charioteer Caṇḍaka and after crossing the river Anoma, bade him return with the horse and assumed the garb of an ascetic. It is believed that the village Bihar in the district of Champaran marks the traditional site of Candaka's return and in any case, the name shows that there existed a Buddhist monastery at this place.[1] Buddha is said to have again passed through Champaran on his way from Vaisāli to Kuśinagara. Lauriya-Nandanagarha (in Champaran in Tirhut) is believed by some to be the site where the "Ashes Stupa" was erected over the ashes taken from Buddha's funeral pyre.[2]

At Buddha's death, the Licchāvis are said to have destroyed all the heretical books to show their firm devotion to Buddha's creed.[3] They obtained from the Mallas (a *quasi*-Kṣatriya class of Kuśinagaram) an eighth part of Buddha's relics on the ground that they were Kṣatriyas like Buddha and erected a monument over the relics at Vaisālī.[4]

Sacred character of Vaisālı.

It may be mentioned that long after Buddha's death Vaisālī continued to enjoy its influence in Tirhut. There were stupas containing relics of Buddha and Ananda's bodies. It was full of sacred spots and was at one time considered so sacred that the 2nd great Council of the Buddhist church was held here (Cir. 377 B.C.)[5] to settle a

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Fahian visited this spot and regarded it as the place where the parting between Buddha and the Licchāvis took place. Hiuen-t-sang found the place deserted and identified it with the place where Buddha had reigned as a Cakravarti (i.e. an all India King) in a previous birth (*Cf.* Report on the Archæological Survey of India, Vol. XVI, North and South Bihar). It is probable that the stupa at Keśariya is the same as was erected by the Licchāvis on the spot where they were presented by Buddha with the alms bowl.

Is it probable that the rivulet Mekhawa (N.E. of Kesaria) or Baya (S.W. of Kesaria) represents the stream which Buddha is said to have made to appear before the Licchāvis.

[1] Bihar or Vihara in Pali=Monastery.

[2] Cf. V. A. Smith's Article on Kusinara or Kusinagram in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1902.

[3] Cf. Ashwa Ghosha's life of Buddha, Eng. Translations, p. 276.

[4] Cf. Ashwa Ghosh's life of Buddha, Fo-sho-ning tsam-king, pp. 328-9; also Beal's Buddhist records of the Western World, Vol. II, p. 41.

[5] According to Ceylonese tradition, it was held 118 years before Asoka's Coronation.—Cf. p. 7, Chronology of India, by C. M. Duff, 1899; also pp. 103-109 of Kerr's Manual of Indian Buddhism, and also p. LIV of Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II.

dispute between the srict and the lax sections of the Buddhist church. It is said that the council was attended by more than 700 monks and resulted eventually in the establishment of a strict order of discipline.

Vaisālī visited by Asoka.

Vaisālī lay on the road between Pātaliputra and Nepāl and was visited by Aśoka (Cir. 250 B.C.)[1] who erected a lion pillar there, though he is said to have removed off the sacred relics of Buddha. Nepal was at this time an integral part of the empire and was probably administered directly from the capital Pātaliputra (Patna) as one of the home provinces. The royal road to it from Pātaliputra appears to have led first to Vaiśāli and then passed Kesariya, Lauriya-Ararāja, Bettiah, Lauriya-Nandanagarha, Jānkigarha and Rāmapurvā (where also there is a pillar near Pipariya not far from Sikārapura in the Champaran district) entering the hills by the Bhikhna Thori pass.

The royal road between Pātaliputra and Vaisālı.

The Emperor's line of march probably followed the route taken by Buddha on his way to the place of his death and is marked by a lion pillar at Vaisālī (Basārhin, Muzaffarpur district), by a stupa at Keśariya and by the pillars[2] of Lauriya-Ararāja near Govindaganj, Lauriya-Nandanagarha (15 miles north of Bettiah), and Rāmpurva (near Pipariah) in the Champaran district.

King Kaniska at Baisālı 120 A.D.

It is not known what happened to Vaisāli after Asoka, but it is said that it was from Vaisāli that Kaniṣka, the Kusāna king, carried off to Gandhara, the famous alms bowl of Buddha about or in the first century A.D.[3] Thereupon

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[1] Cf. Oldfield's Sketches from Nepal II, pp. 198 and 246-52; also Indian Antiquary, XIII, 412; also Levi, Le Nepal, Vol. I, pp. 263-331 and Vol. II, pp. 1-3, 344.

[2] Cf. pp. 64-74 of Report on the Archæological Survey of India, Vol. I, 1862-65. Also Archæological Survey of India, Vol. I, for 1880, pp. 104-113.

The Lauriya-Nandanagarha and Ararāja pillars bear the usual edicts of Asoka. The lion pillar at Lauriya is, however, damaged in the mouth and bears the inscription "Muhiuddin-Mahammad Aurangzib Badshah Alamgir Ghazisanh, 1071 (=1661 A D.). The Rampurwa pillar is much damaged.

[3] Report on Arch. Survey of India, Vol. XVI, pages 8-11; also Vaissilief's translations from Tārānāth. Fahien found this alms bowl in the 4th century A.D. in Gandhar; Cf. pp. 19-20, Giles' records of Buddhistic kingdoms.

Also Cf. J.R.A.S., July, 1913, pp. 627-650;
" Jan. 1914 " 79-88
" April " " 369-382.
" " " " 403-410.
" July " " 748-751.
" Jan., 1915, " 95-108.

we find that a local Rājā at or near Pātaliputra, bearing the famous name of Candragupta wedded, in or about the year 308 A.D., a princess named Kumarā Devī, who belonged to the ancient Licchāvi clan. During the long period of about eight centuries which intervened between the reign of Ajātasatru and the marriage of Kumarā Devī, the history of the Licchāivis has been lost for the most part, although they are known to have established a dynasty in Nepal, which used an era believed to run from A.D. 111.[1] They now come suddenly into notice again in connexion with this marriage, which proved to be an event of the highest political importance, as being the foundation of the fortunes of a dynasty destined to rival the glories of the Mauryas. Kumāra Devī evidently brought to her husband as her dowry valuable influence, which in the course of a few years secured to him a paramount position in Magadha and the neighbouring countries. It seems probable that at the time of this fateful union, the Licchāvis[2] were masters of the ancient imperial city, and that Candra Gupta, by means of his matrimonial alliance, succeeded to the power previously held by his wife's relatives. In the older days the Licchāvis of Vaisālī had been the rivals of the kings of Pātliputra, and apparently during the disturbed times which followed the reign of Pusyamitra, they paid off old scores by taking possession of the city, which had been built and fortified many centuries earlier for the express purpose of curbing their restless spirit.

The Licchavis help Chandragupta II to be a king, 308 A.D.

Candra Gupta was raised by his Licchāvi connexion from the rank of a local chief, as enjoyed by his father and grandfather,[3] to such dignity, that he felt justified in

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1 The names of the Candraguptas of the Gupta dynasty are spelt with a hyphen, to distinguish them from the Maurya (Levi, Le Nepal, i, 14; ii, 153.)

2 It is related in the "Mahāvansa" and the "Malankāra Vatthis" that there was a Licchāvi Rājā "Sisunaga" who removed his capital from Rajagrha (in Magadha) to Vaisali (in Tirhut).

3 Cf. A.S.A.R., 1903-04; V. A. Smith's 'Revised Chronology of the early or imperial Gupta dynasty,' Ind. Ant. 1902, p. 257; V. A. Smith's Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, p. 95; Fleet's notes in J.R.A.S., 1909, p. 342; Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions' in 'Corpus inscriptions, Ind.' vol. III; also V. A. Smith's 'the Conquest of Samudragupta' in J.R.A.S, 1897, p. 859; and Ind. Ant., 1913, p. 176.

Also the analogical account of king Udayana of Kausambi (in 'Kathā Sarita Sāgara') who was son of Satanik, grandson of Sahasranika, belonged to the Bhārata family and was called vaidehiputra, i.e. son of the princess of Videha or Mithila.

assuming the lofty title of "Sovereign of Mahārājas" usually associated with a claim to the rank of lord paramount. He struck coins in the joint names of himself, his queen, and the Licchāvis and his son and successor habitually described himself with pride as the son of the daughter of the Licchāvis.

Candragupta selected (about A.D. 330) as his *successor the* Crown Prince, Samudragupta, his son by the Licchāvi princess.

Important light on Baisāli by excavations

The excavations at Basārha have unearthed materials which disclose important information relating to Basārha in the 5th century A.D. Official seals, found at the excavations, were probably impressed on letters addressed by the Central Government at Pātlīputra to the officers at Vaisālī. Some of these officers are described as being in charge of Tṛbhukti (त्रभुक्ति). Other seals attached to letters sent by merchants and bankers point to the large commercial transactions conducted in those days. There have been found seals of mercantile and banking guilds and it may not be unreasonable to suppose that there existed a chamber of commerce even in those days. Various officers were named as Governor, Military Commander, Police Commander, Chief of the War Office Treasury, the Commander of the City, the Chief of the State Ministers. All this shows a highly developed form of government. It is remarkable that no symbol of Buddhism is to be found among the emblems on seals unearthed at Basarha. The evidence of the emblems on the seals, so far as they have any connection with religious worship, together with the names occurring in the inscriptions and the seals bearing benedictory formulas, rather lead one to conclude that most of the persons to whom the seals belonged, were followers of the Brahminical creed or Jainas, or both.[1]

[1] Cf. Report on the Archæological Survey of India, 1903-4, pp. 8-11.

CHAPTER II.

Chinese Travellers in Tirhut.

500 *A.D. to* 650 *A.D.*

The Chinese traveller Fa-Hien, who came to India at the beginning of the 5th century A.D., came to see the site of Candaka's return and returned to Vaisālī (modern Basārha in the district of Muzaffarpur) after doing homage to the "Ashes Stupa" at Kusīnagara.

Fa-Hien writes :—

-Hien's account of 'sāli, 5th century A D.

"It was by the side of the 'Weapons laid down' tope at Baisālī that Buddha, having given up the idea of living longer said to Ānanda, 'In three months from this I ill attain to pari-nirvāna,' and Māra[1] had so fascinated nd stupefied Ānanda, that he was not able to ask Buddha o remain longer in this world."

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"When Ananda was going from Magadha[2] to Vaisālī, vishing his pari-nirvāna to take place (there), the devas nformed king Ajātasatru[3] of it, and the king immediately ursued him in his own grand carriage, with a body of oldiers, and had reached the river. (On the other hand), he Licchavis of Baisālī had heard that Ānanda was coming o their city), and they on their part came to meet him.

[1] The king of demons. The name Mara is explained by 'the murderer,' 'the desroyer of virtue,' and similar appellations. 'He is,' says Eitel, 'the personification of lust, the god of love, sin and death, the arch-enemy of goodness, residing in the heaven Paranirmita vasavartin on the top of the Kāmadhātu. He assumes different forms especially monstrous ones, to tempt or frighten the saints, or sends his daughters, or inspires wicked men like Devadatta or the Nigranthas to do his work. He is often represented with 100 arms, and riding on an elephant.' The oldest form [illegible] this paragraph is in 'Buddhist Suttas,' Sacred Books of the East, Vol. xi, pp. 41-55, where Buddha says that, if Ananda had asked him thrice he would have postponed his death.

[2] Magadha was for some time the headquarters of Buddhism; the holy land covered with Vihāras, a fact perpetuated, as has been observed in the name of the present Behar, the southern portion of which corresponds to the ancient kingdom of Magadha.

[3] In Singhalese Ajāsat. Cf. the account of his conversion in Mahavamsam of Ceylon (translated by Greiger, J. Pali Text Society, 1912), pp. 321-326. He was the son of the King Bimbisāra, who was one of the first royal converts to Buddhism. Ajāsat murdered his father or at least wrought his death; and was at first opposed to Sakyamuni (Buddha). When converted, he became famous for his liberality and almsgiving.

(In this way), they all arrived together at the river, and Ānanda considered that if he went forward, King Ajātsatru would be very angry, while if he went back, Licchavis would resent his conduct. He thereupon in the very middle of the river burnt his body in a fiery ecstasy of Samādhi,[1] and his pari-nirvana was attained. He divided his body (also) into two, (leaving) the half of it on each bank; so that each of the two kings got one-half as (sacred) relic, and took it back (to his own capital), and there raised a tope over it."[2]

Wang-Hiuen-Tse, a Chinese traveller.

Wang-Hiuen-Tse, a Chinese traveller, visited Baisālī twice in the 6th century A.D. and in his second visit offered robes to B[uddh]dhist monks.[3]

Chinese traveller Sung-Yun's account of Tirhut.

Sung-Yun, another Chinese traveller, who came [to] India in the 6th century, mentions [the] place of Candaka's return and spea[ks] of 40 countries, extending from [the] frontier of Persia on the west to Khotan on the bord[er] of China on the east, the last one of which was Tieh-[lo] in the south, as being in possession of a people of Hun[s]. It is sometimes thought that Tieh-lo represented moder[n] Tirhut.

Hiuen Tsiang, the famous Chinese traveller, came t[o] Tirhut in the 7th century A.D. about the year 635. H[e] visited the site of Candaka's return, which, he writes

[1] Eitel has a long article on the meaning of Samadhi, which is one of the sections of wisdom (bodhyanga), Hardy defines it as meaning 'perfect tran[quillity]' Turnour, as meditative abstraction; Burnouf, as self-control and Edkins, as reverse.' 'Samadhi,' says Eitel, 'signifies the highest pitch of abstract, ecstatic [medi]tation; a state of absolute indifference to all influences from within or without; state of torpor of both the material and spiritual forces of vitality; a sort of te[r]restrial nirvana, consistently culminating in the total destruction of life.' He the[n] quotes apparently the language of the text. 'He consumed his body by Agni (th[e] fire) of Samadhi,' and says it is 'a common expression for the effects of such ecstat[ic] ultra-mystic self-annihilation.' All this is simply 'a darkening of counsel by wo[rds] without knowledge.' Some facts concerning the death of Ananda are hidden bene[ath] the darkness of the phraseology, which it is impossible now to ascertain. [By] Samadhi he burns his body in the very middle of the river, and then he divides th[e] relic of the burnt body into two parts (for so evidently Fa-Hien intended his na[r]ration to be taken), and leaves one-half on each bank. The account of Ananda['s] death in Nien-chang's 'History of Buddha and the Patriarchs' is much more extr[a]vagant. Crowds of men and devas are brought together to witness it. The bo[dy] is divided into four parts. One is conveyed to the Tusita heaven, second to th[e] place of a certain Nāga king, a third is given to Ajatasatru, and the fourth [to] the Licchavis. What it all really means is difficult to say.

[2] Pages 74 to 77 of "A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms, being an account [by] the Chinese Monk Fa-Hien of his travels in India and Ceylon (399-414 A.D.) [by] James Legge, M.A., LL.D., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1886 edition.

[3] Cf. Ind. Ant., 1911, p. 111; also Beal's Si-yuki, i, Introduction XV.

formed part of the kingdom of Rama, a kingdom which was desolate and uninhabited. A great stupa built by Asoka in a dense forest marked the site of Candaka's return. From this place the traveller went to the stupa built over Buddha's ashes; which he passed on his way to Kuśinagar, through a great and dangerous forest, full of robbers, elephants, etc. It is now taken as a settled fact that at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit, Tirhut formed a part of the empire of Harṣavardhan Silāditya of Kanauj.[1] He died in 648 and his minister, Arjuna, usurped the throne and attacked a mission which was on its way from the Chinese emperor.[2]

Hiuen Tsiang's account of Tirhut, 7th century A.D.

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1 Rhys David's Travel of Ywan Chwang, Vol. II, pages 63-80.

2 During his lifetime, King Harṣa maintained diplomatic intercourse with the Chinese empire. A Brahmana envoy, whom he had sent to the emperor of China in 641, returned in 643 A.D. accompanied by a Chinese mission bearing a reply to Harṣa's despatch. The mission remained for a considerable time in India, and did not go back to China until 645 A.D. The next year Wang-hiuen-tse, who had been the second-in-command of the earlier embassy, was sent by his sovereign as head of a new Indian Mission, with an escort of thirty horsemen. Before the envoys reached Magadha in 648 A.D. King Harsa had died, and the withdrawal of his strong arm had plunged the country into disorder, which was aggravated by famine.

Aryuna, or Arunasva, a minister of the late king usurped the throne and gave a hostile reception to the Chinese mission. The members of the escort were massacred, and the property of the Mission plundered but the envoys, Wang-hiuen-tse and his colleague, were fortunate enough to escape into Nepal by night.

The reigning king of Tibet, the fāmous Srong-tsan Gampo, who was married to a Chinse princess, succoured the fugitives, and supplied them with a force of a thousand horsemen, which co-operated with a Nepalese contingent of seven thousand men. With this small army Wang-hiuen-tse descended into the plains, and, after a three days' siege, succeeded in storming the chief city of Tirhut. Three thousand of the garrison were beheaded, and ten thousand persons were drowned in the neighbouring river (?) Aryuna fled and having collected a fresh force, offered battle. He was again disastrously defeated and taken prisoner The victor promptly beheaded a thousand prisoners, and in a later action captured the entire royal family, took twelve thousand prisoners and obtained thirty thousand head of cattle. Five hundred and eighty walled towns made their submission; and Kumara, the king of Eastern India, who had attended Harsa's assemblies a few years earlier, sent in abundant supplies of cattle, horses and accoutrements for the victorious army. Wang-hiuen-tse brought the usurper as a prisoner to China, and was promoted for his services. Cf. Lt. Col. Waddell's Tibetan Invasions of India in 647 A.D. and its results (A.S.B. Review, Jan., 1911, as well as his Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism, 1895, pp. 20-41); Sarat Chandra Dasa (J.A.S.B., Vol. I, Part I, 1881, pp. 217-22); Sir. M. A. Stein's Ancient Khotan, 1907; Watters' Work on Ywan Chwang, i, ii.

It will thus appear that both Nepal and Tirhut came under the Tibetan sway after this event. Mr. P. Silvain Levi conjectured that in the year A.D. 879 the epoch of the Nepalese era might possibly mark the time when Nepal threw off its allegiance to Tirhut (Le-Nepal, Vol. II, 1905, page 182). But it appears from Chinese sources that Tibetan rule in Tirhut lasted only for about half a century from A.D. 648—703, the date when Nepal also recovered its independence, as determined by Mr. E. H. Parker from the histories of T'ang dynasty of China. "In the year 703 it is recorded that both Nepal and India threw off Tibetan suzerainty, and that the then king of Tibet perished during his personal conduct of the punitive expedition that he ha

Hiuen Tsiang[1] writes that the kingdom of Vaisālī was about 1,000 miles (5,000 Li) in circuit and that it abounded in fruits, flowers, mangoes and plantains and all sorts of riches. The land was fertile and was blessed with a temperate climate. The people were fond of learning and religious pursuits.

It is said that the Vrijjian kingdom (to the north-east of Vaisāli) of which the capital was Chansuna (Janakapura) which was in ruins, was about 300 miles (4,000 Li) in circuit and that the inhabitants had mostly discarded Buddhism.

According to Hiuen Tsiang, Vaisālī was about 12 miles in circuit and was inhabited by Jains, Hindus and Buddhists, the last of whom were practically the least important from a numerical point of view. The city was in an advanced state of ruin and all traces of the Buddhist gardens and monasteries except three or four containing a few monks had disappeared The Jains were numerous and the Brahmanical Hindus worshipped at a score of shrines.[2]

It seems probable that at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit, Vaisālī or Tirhut formed part of the empire of King Harṣa who ruled over Northern India between 606 and 648 A.D.[3] Vaisāli is said to have been the only great city in the territories of the free clans who formed so impor-

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organized against them." (The Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society, 1911, pp. 129-52. Also an article by Mr V. A. Smith, pp. 555-56, Vol. III, part IV, of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, December 1917.)

[1] Cf. Rhys David's "Travel of Yuan Chwang (Vol. II), pp. 63-80, and also S. Beal's " Life of Hiuen Tsiang (1914).

Hiuen Tsiang states that Buddha told Anathapindika that there were hidden treasures at Panduka (in Mithila), Pingala (in Kalinga), Sankha (in Kasi) and El Patra (in Gandhar). These treasures will be revealed when Maitreya attains Buddhahood and would never experience diminution when drawn upon. But what it means it is not easy to understand.

[2] Cf. Dr. Bloch's Report Arch. Surv. Ind., 1903-4.

Dr. Bloch writes, " Turning to the emblems on the seals, the first thing that strikes one is the total absence of any symbol of Buddhism. * * The evidence of the emblems on the seals, so far as they have any connection with religious worship together with the names occurring in the inscriptions and the seals bearing benedictory formulas, rather led me to conclude that most of the persons to whom the seals belonged were followers of the Brahmanical creed of the Jainas, or both. There is, however, proof that Buddhists remained there probably until the conquest of the country by the Muhammadans, in the Buddhist images recently found among its ruins which belong to the end of Buddhist history in India. "

[3] Cf. pp. 173-180 of Life of Hiuen-Tsiang, by S. Beal. Also cf. pp. 210-224 of Buddhist Records of the Western World, Beal.

tant a factor in the social and political life of the 6th century[1] A.D.

Another Chinese traveller who visited Mithilā and Vaisālī was It-sing whose record is valuable as showing the actual practice of Buddhism in the 7th century A.D.[2]

Nothing can be said as to what happened to Vaisālī or to the Vrijjian kingdom after the destruction of king Harṣa's empire.

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1 Cf. Buddhist India, p. 40 by Rys David

2 Cf. It Sing's record of Buddhist religion in India translated by Dr. J. Takakusu, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1896

PART III.

CHAPTER I.

TIRHUT FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE 7TH TO THE MIDDLE OF THE 13th CENTURY A.D.

Tibetan rule in Tirhut.

Nothing definite is known of Tirhut after king Harṣa's death for about 200 years, except as we have already said, that soon after king Harsa's death (648 A.D.) his minister Aryuna usurped the throne and gave a hostile reception to a Chinese mission which was on its way to King Harṣa's Court. The then *King of Tibet*—Strong-tsan-Gampo, who was related to the Chinese Emperor, succoured the surviving members of the mission who had fled into Nepal and *Tibet* defeated Aryuna, occupied Nepal and Tirhut, and held them under his sway up to the beginning of the 8th century A.D.[1]

Pāla dynasty.

Towards the middle of the 9th century A.D., it is probable that Gopāla, the founder of the Pāla dynasty in Bengal, exercised some influence over Tirhut.[2] It is not known how long and how far his influence extended. But it appears that at the beginning of the 10th century A.D. Yasovarman[3] Chandella is represented as warring against the Maithilas, Gaudas (Bengalis) and Chedis and at the beginning of the 11th century A.D., the Pālas were superseded by the Chedis of central India, who, owing to an upheaval or commotion in the country, made dash northwards and occupied Tirhut among other tracts. The Carnatics (Nānyupa's family)[4] seem to have come to

Tirhut under the rule of the Chedi or Kulācāri princes.

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[1] Cf. an account of this episode.

[2] Cf. E. I, i, 122 ff.; and C.A.S.R. ii, 451.

[3] Cf. J.B.A. iv, 123, IA. vii, 91; ix, 188; xiii, 414.

[4] The occupation of Mithila by the Chedis may appear strange at the first sight, but Puranic records place Magadha under them during the time of the Mahabhārata.

Thus the Ādi Parva of the Mahabhārata (cir. 500 B.C.) ch. 63, verses 29–38, state that Vasū, the rājāh of Chedi, had five sons, each of whom founded a separate line of kings, one of whom was Bṛahadratha who became ruler of Magadha (and father of Jārasandha) and that near his (Vasu's) capital was a river called Saktimati and a mountain called Kolahāl and that a daughter of the river Saktimati (produced by

Tirhut in alliance with the Chedis[1] and it is probable that they took advantage of their decline at the end of the 11th century A.D. to carve out a principality for themselves.[2]

Gaṅgeyadeva ruled in Tirhut in Saṃvat (Vikrama) 1076[3] (=1019 A.D.) and may be identified with Gaṅgeyadeva Kalācuri[4] of Chedi whom Alberuni mentions as a ruler of Dahala in 1030 A.D.[5] Gaṅgeya is also known from some coins found in Gorkhapore.[6] He is said to have died under the Banyan-tree at Allahabad in 1040 A.D. Both he and his son, Karṇa, who is said have reigned for 60 years, held Gauda (the then capital of Bengal under the Hindu kings) under their sway. Karna's son[7] seems to have invaded and subdued Champaran. Thus there were at least three rulers of this Chedi dynasty who can account for about a century (Cir. 1000 to 1100 A.D.) in Tirhut.

It has been assumed that Rāmapāla of the Pāla dynasty

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intercourse with mountain Kolāhal) was Girikā whom Vasu married. As a matter of fact, the Kauakol mountains, the river Sakri and Girlak [the name of a hill near Rajgriha in the Patna district, which may have been so called after an old branch of the river Sakri (traces of which still exist) which might have been called daughter of Saktimati] exist close together in south Bihar (Patna, Gaya and Monghyr districts) and it is probable that these names are corruptions of Kolahala, Saktimati and Girikā. It is equally probable that the southern part of the Kauakol range was called Saktimati from which (according to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa) issued the Riṣhikulya (probably the river Kiul), Kumari (probably the river Kaurhari), and others including the Saktimati which was so called after the hill of its issue (following the analogy of Mekhalanandini, etc.) It is not improbable that the Chedi kingdom extended from south Bihar to Jubbalpur, near which exists Tewar which possesses inscriptions showing (according to the identification by General Cunningham) to have been Tripurā, a capital of the Chedi kingdom If this hypothesis has any foundation in fact, it is remarkable that the Chedis again extended their sway to Magadha and Tirhut in the 10th and 11th centuries A.D.

1 Cf. Simrāon dynasty, Chapter II.

2 Cf. pp. 18-19 of "Bendall's History of Nepal and surrounding kingdoms which is a part of Catalogue of palmleaf manuscripts in the Nepal Durbar Library by H. P. Sastri; also Manuscript No. 1079 (p. 34 of the Catalogue) of the Rāmāyaṇa and particularly the Colophon at the end of the Kiskindhya Kānda:—

सम्बत् १०७६ आषाढ़ वदि ४ महाराजाधिराज पुण्यावलोक सोमवंशोद्भव गौड़ध्वज श्रीमद् गङ्गेयदेव भूज्यमान तीरभुक्तौ कल्यान विजयराज्ये नेपालदेशीय श्रीभंचुशालिक श्रीआनन्दास्य पाटकावस्थित (कायस्थ) पण्डित श्री श्री श्रीकुरस्यात्मज श्रीगोपतिना लेखिदम् ।

3 Cf. Emp. India, II, 9, 11; ibid., IX, 129. Also Cunningham, Reports, Vols IX, X, XX; Fact J.R.A.S., 1905, p. 566.

4 Cf. p. 202, Alberuni's India, by E. C., Sachaw, Vol. I, 1910.

5 Cf. Rapson, Indian Coins (Grandrass, II, 3B), p. 35.

6 Cf. Ind. Ant. XVII, p. 215, and XVIII, p. 217, C.A.S.R., IX, 82; E. J. ii, 297; ibid., ii, 1093; also Vikramankacharitam, 18, 95, etc; also Bendall's History of Nepal and surrounding kingdoms, p. 15; also p. 19 of the Introduction, Memoirs R.A.S B., Vol. III.

7 V. A. Smith's Early History of India, pp. 400 and 401.

conquered Mithilā from Rājā Bhima at the beginning of the 12th century A.D., but this assumption rests on no authority. Bhima was a Raja of the Kaibarta's who acquired supremacy in Bengal including Varendra (Rāma Pāla's fatherland) and was defeated by Rāma Pāla. He is never known to have come to or to have acquired Mithila.[1] In fact, it is not exactly known what influence the Palas exercised over Tirhut in 11th century A.D.

At or about the time of the death of Madanapāla, the last king of the Pâla dynasty, a Rājā named Bijaya Sena, whose capital was at Gauḍa in Bengal, founded a rival dynasty in Bengal commonly called that of the "Sena Kings," which wrested the Eastern Provinces from the hands of the Pāla Dynasty, the power of which was then much circumscribed.

Influence of the Sena kings, 1119-20 A.D.

There is no doubt that the Sena kings exercised considerable influence or ruled over Mithilā. The Sena rule in Mithilā is still commemorated by the use of the Laṣkmana

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[1] Cf. "Rāmacaritam" by Samdhyākara Nandi, edited by H. P. Sāstrī. Calc., 1910 (Memoirs of the R.A.S.B., Vol. III, pp. 1 to 56). This work can be interpreted in two ways either for "Rāma" (the hero of Rāmāyana) or for "Rāmapāla" of the Pāla Dynasty. The conquest of "Janakabhu" will therefore mean conquest of the land of Rāmpāl's father (i.e. Varendra) and not that of Mithilā or Tirhut.

Cf. also the 'Pala Kings' (Memoirs of the A.S.B., 1913).

A careful perusal of the two ślokas on which the assumption (that Rama Pāla conquered Mithila) seems to be based will show that he conquered his father's country, i.e. Varendra.

१ । माम् सभुजोर्चिर्दम्भकेन जनक भूर्दस्युनोपधिव्रतिना ।
दि्व्याक्रथेन सीता वाधालंक्षतिर (रा) चारि कान्तास्य ॥

२ । ईति छत्वाज्ञामागत्य चिताम् (ताता)भूमिं स जानकीं निज भवेऽ ।
चचान्तकरः प्रथिताभिज्ञोद्व च कथञ्चिथस्तथाभूतां दशाम् ॥

The word 'Janakabhu' has been used in the same sense in the following śloka:—

यस्योर्ज्जसल-पौरुषस्य न्टपतेः श्रीरामपालोऽभवत्
पुत्रः पालकुलाधिभौतकिरतः साम्राज्य विख्यातिभाक् ।
तेने येन जगत्त्रये जनकभू-लाभाद् यथावद्यसः
चौनी-नायक-भीम-रावन-वधाद्युद्धान्तवोक्षंघनात् ॥

Cf. Vaidyadeva's Kamauli Tamrasasan (copperplate) 4th śloka—Gauramāļā, pp. 129, 138.

As. regards Bhima's supremacy in Varendra (and Bengal) cf.—

अन्यत्र सा भूमिः अभिख्यायानाम्ना वरेन्द्रीत्यस्ता अस्य दिव्वोकस्य यो अनुजो रुद्दोकः स तदीय तनयस्य भीमनाम्नः रक्ष प्रचारिनः क्रियाद्यमस्य अलंकर्म्मीनस्य यथोक्त क्रमेण रक्षणीयाभूत् । स तत्र भूपति· वर्त्तमानः ॥

Sena's Era,[1] the first current year of which corresponded with 1119-20 A.D. (513 H.) which was either the date of the coronation of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, the great king of the Sena Dynasty or the date of his birth in which case it was started by his father Ballāla Sena.

Hindu power driven away by Muslim invasion, 1193 A.D.

But this Sena supremacy over Tirhut did not last after the close of the 12th century A.D. and both the "Pālas" and the "Senas" were swept away by the torrent of Muhammadan invasion at the end of the twelfth century, when Kutb-ud-din's general Muhammad, son of Bakhtiyar, stormed Bihar in (A.H. 589) 1193 A.D. and surprised Nudiah in the following year. The Musalman general who had already made his name a terror by repeated plundering expeditions in Bihar, seized the capital (Bihar) by a daring stroke. The almost contemporary historian met one of the survivors of the attacking party in 1243 A.D., and learnt from him that the fort of Bihar was seized by a party of only two hundred horsemen, who boldly rushed to the postern gate and gained possession of the place. Great quantities of plunder were obtained, and the slaughter of the shaven-headed Brāhmaṇas, that is to say, the Buddhist monks, was so complete, that when the victor sought for some one capable of explaining the contents of the books in the libraries of the monasteries, not a living man could be found who was able to read them. "It was discovered," we are told, "that the whole of that fortress and city was a college, and in the Hindi tongue they called a college Bihar."[2]

Alberuni's reference to Mithilā.

It may be mentioned here that of the early Muhammadan writers, Alberuni who wrote his work on India at Peshawar at the beginning of the 11th century A.D. has mentioned a place called Tilawat near the country of Nepal. It has, therefore, been said sometimes that Alberuni's Tilawat was meant for Tirhut which was known to him. But as it is certain[3] that Alberuni never went

[1] Several theories have, from time to time, been advanced regarding the initiation of the Sena Era—for detailed account, cf. pp. 299-300 of Vol. I, History of Bengal (Bangala Itihāsa), by R. D. Banerji, 1st edition.

[2] Cf. Raverty's translation, Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, p. 552.

[3] Cf. Preface to Alberuni's India by E. C. Sachau, Vol. I, 1st edition of 1910. Alberuni writes, "Marching from Kanoj towards the east, you come to *Bari*, 10

beyond Peshawar, and as his description of the people of Tilawat does not apply to the people of Tirhut, it is doubtful whether his Tilawat was meant for Tirhut.

Muhammadan influence in Tirhut at the beginning of the 13th century A.D.

The Muhammadan rulers or conquerors of Bengal began to exercise some influence over Tirhut at the beginning of the 13th century A.D. In those days Lakhanāvati was the stronghold of Muhammadan influence in Bengal, and the 4th Mullick of Lakhanāvati, Sultan Hasmuddin, is said to have received tribute from Tirhut. But there is no detailed description of Tirhut. It is however said that the 9th Mullick Izuddin-Togril (1233 to 1244 A.D.) invaded Tirhut and carried away a large booty.[1]

Gayasuddin's invasion of Tirhut, 1225 A D

Gayasuddin, who was originally appointed the Muhammadan Governor of Bengal, overran Tirhut about the year 1225 A.D.

Al Badaoni writes :—

"Another was Mullick Husainu-d-Din,[2] one of the nobles of Khilji and Garmsir and one of the servants of Muhammad Bakhtiyar, who became possessed of the whole country of Tirhut and Bengala and Jajnagar and Kamrud and gained the title of Sultan Ghiyasu-d-Din, till in the months of the year 622 H., he sent to the Sultan Shamsu-d-Din Iyaltimish thirty-eight head of elephants and seventy thousand *tanqahs*[3] in the cash as present and acknowledged the Sultan's authority, as will be mentioned, if God (be He exalted) so will it.[4]

"And in the year 622 H. Sultan Shamsu-d-Din, took an army towards Behar and Lakhnauti and brought Sultan Ghiyasu-d-Din Khilji, who has been before mentioned into obedience, and having accepted the presents above men-

farsakh; Dugum, 45 farsakh, the empire of Shilahat, 10 farsakh, the town of Bihar, 12 farsakh. Further on the country to the right is called Tilawat, the inhabitants Taru, people of very black colour and flat-nosed like the Turks. Thence you come to the mountains of Kamru, which stretch away as far as the sea. Opposite Tilawat the country to the left is the realm of Nepal" (cf. p. 201 of Alberuni's India by E. C. Sachau, Vol. I, 1st edition, 1910).

[1] Cf. Raverty's translation Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, pp. 587 and 737, etc.

[2] Cf. pp. 86 and 91 of Al-Badaoni's' Muntakhabu-T-Tawarikh translated by Rankin, Vol. I, 1898 edition.

[3] Tanqah. For the value of this cf. J.R.A.S. New Series, Vol. 1, p. 343, also Raverty 584, note 2, Thomas Chr. Pathan Kings of Delhi, p 161 and p. 49 note.

[4] "Thirty elephants and eighty *laks* of treasure" (*Tabaqat-I-Nasiri*).

tioned established the *Khutba* and *Sikka* in his own name[1] and having given his elder son the title of Sultan Nasiru-d-Din Mahmud made him his heir, and having made over that country to him returned to the metropolis of Delhi. Eventually Malik Nasiru-d-Din Mahmud having fought with Ghiyasu-d-Din on the confines of Lakhnauti got the upper hand, and having taken him prisoner, put him to death, great booty fell into his hands which he divided into portions and sent as reward to each of the nobles of Delhi."

But it is not certain that he established any lasting supremacy in the country. About the middle or before the middle of the 13th century, it appears that a Hindu dynasty was founded at Simraon in the Champaran district, and it held its sway over Mithilā and Tirhut for about a century.

CHAPTER II.

The Simrāon Dynasty.

A short description of the Simrāon dynasty may not be out of place here.[2]

Situation of Simrāon

The capital of the Simrāon dynasty was Sivarāmpura (modern Simrāon), a village situated just beyond the north-eastern boundary of Champaran in the Nepalese territory. It contains an extensive mud fortress now in ruins.[3] This dynasty is said to have lasted from about 1100 A.D. to 1324 A.D.

Nānyadeva, the founder of the Simrāon dynasty.

The founder of the Simrāon dynasty was one Nānya or Nānyupa Deva who is said to have come from Karnāta in Southern India, to have established himself at Simrāon, to have subdued the whole Mithilā, and to have overcome the king of Nepal.

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[1] Cf. Thomas' Pathan Kings, p. 46. It is not said here what kind of coinage. Thomas puts the year 626 A.H. as the first of the silver coinage.

[2] Cf. J.A.S.B, Vol. LXXII, Part 1, 1903. Also Vol. XI, Nos X and XI, November, December, 1915.

[3] Report on Arch. Survey of India, Vol. XVI, pp. 1-11. Also the introductory verses of Candeswara's Kṛty ratnākara.

It is not exactly known how these Karnatics from Southern India found their way into Mithilā, and Nepal. But it appears from Ksemesvara's Chandra Kauśika[1] that Rājā Mahīpāla of the Karnāta dynasty defeated Karnatic Rājā who had invaded Bengal. But it is not certain who these Karnātics were and whether they had any connection with the family of Nānya Deva who established his principality in Mithilā[2] and Nepal.[3] It is probable, however, that this Nānya Deva was a contemporary of Bijaya Sena of the Sena dynasty of Bengal.

According to Vidyāpati's Bhū-parikrama[4] (Purusa-pariksā) his (i.e. Nanyupa Deva's) son Malladeva took service under Jayacandra, king of Kanyakubja (Kanauj). As Jaycandra is known to have flourished in the 2nd half of the 12th century, Nanyadeva[5] may be assigned to the

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[1] Also p 253, Hunter's statistical account, Bengal, Tirhut and Champaran, 1877

यः संश्रित्य प्रकृति गहनामार्य्यां चाणक्यनीति
र्जलानन्दान् कुसुमनगरं चन्द्रगुप्तो जिगाय ।
कर्णाटत्वं भुवमुपगतानद्य तानेव हन्तुं
दोर्दर्पाढ्यः स पुनरभवत् श्रीमहीपालदेवः ॥

Cf. p. 223, vol. I of the History of Bengal (Bangala Itihāsa) by R. D. Banerji.

[2] Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX, p. 188; Vol. XIII, p. 418.

[3] Bendall's Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manusctipt in the University Library, Cambridge, p. XV. The different genealogical trees of the family given by Pische Wright and Jayapratap's inscriptions differ considerably.

[4] Cf. p. 290, Vol. I of the History of Bengal (Bangala Itihasa) by R. D. Banerji, 1st edition; also cf. Pische, *katalogue* der Biblothik dei Deutzchen Morgenlandischen Gesseilschaft, Vol. II, p. 8.

Cf. F.N. 5.

Vidyapati's Bhuparikramana which was later expanded into the Purusa-pariksā, its extant eight tales forming the first chapter thereof.

आसीन्मिथिलायां कर्णाटकुलसंभवस्य नान्यदेवनाम्नो राज्ञः पुत्रो मल्लदेव नामधेयः कुमारः। कुमारः कान्यकुब्जं नाम जनपदं जगाम तत्र च जयचन्द्र नाम्नो राज्ञः Fol. 18b of the Sans. Coll.

Tradition asserts that Nanyupa had two sons, Gangeyadeva and Malladeva, after whom the Gangāpur and Malladihā Tālukās, about 36 miles respectively to, the east and south of Madhepura in Bhagalpur district, are known.

[5] Certain ślokas prevalent about Nanyadeva show that he ascended the throne in Saka 1019 (=1097 A.D.).

रामोवेत्ति नलोवेत्ति वेत्तिराजापुरुरवा। अलर्कस्य धनं प्राप्य नान्योराजा भविष्यति। नन्देन्दु विन्दु विधु सम्मित शाक वर्षे १०१९ तच्छ्रावणेसितदले मुनिसिद्धितिथ्याम्। स्वातौ शनैश्चर दिने करिवैरिलग्ने श्री नान्यदेव नृपतिर्विदधीत वास्तुम् ॥

Cf. pp. 10 and 11, Ain-i-Tirhut, by Babu Bihari Lal Sahib (1883 edition), printed at the Bahar Kasmiri Press (Lucknow).

There is an inscription of Pratāp Mall of Nepal dated Nepal Sambat 769 or 1648 A.D. In this inscription Nānya Deva family has been described.

beginning of the 12th century A.D.[1] As stated in the Ghashmar Kathā of the Purusaparikṣā, Jayacandra, king of Kanauj, was defeated and killed in the *War* with Shahbuddin by the treachery of his queen. We know from history that king Jaycandra of Kanauj was defeated by Shah-buddin, alias Muiz-zu-ddin Muhammad in 1194 A.D.[2]

Cf. Ind. Ant, 1880, p. 188 Bhagwanlal Indiaji's Inscriptions from Nepal No. 18.

भूयः श्रीयक्षमल्लो नरपतिरतुलो रत्नमल्लोऽप्यमुष्मात् तस्मात् श्री सूर्य्यमल्लो । अवनिपतिर-भूत्तनू- जोऽमराख्यमल्लोऽभूत्तस्य पुत्रोरिपुगणविजयी श्रीमहेन्द्राख्यमल्लः ।

There is yet another sloka also .—

श्री ज्योतिमल्ल हृदयनन्दनयक्षमल्लः सर्वाङ्ग सुन्दरवपुरतिमल्ल वारति । भक्तापुरी नगरवासित सौख्यकारी दुर्भिक्ष दुःखभय हारणदेव मूर्तिः ॥

There is yet another sloka :—

आसीत् श्रीसूर्य्यवंशे रघु नृपकुलजो रामचन्द्रोन्वयेशः तद्वंशे नान्यदेवोऽवनिपतिरभवत्तत्सुतः गङ्गदेवः । तत्पुत्रोऽभून्नृसिंहो नरपतिरतुलस्तत्सुतो रामसिंहः तज्जः श्रीशक्तिसिंहो धरणिपतिरभत् भूप भूपालसिंहः तस्मात्कर्णाट चूडामणिरिव हरयुत्सिंह देवोस्य वंशे ।

श्रीसूर्य्यवंश प्रभवः प्रतापः श्रीपट्टवन्तः स्थितमल्लदेवः राजल्लदेव्याः पतिरिन्दुमूर्तिस्तस्यात्मजो श्रीजयधर्म्ममल्लः तस्यानुजो गुणनिधिः सुकृतैकसिन्धुर्भ्रातानुमध्यजवरो जयज्योति मल्लः । तस्यानुजो मदनरन्यसमान देहधातः कनिष्ठ रुचिरोजय कीर्तिमल्लः ।

Cf. also pp. 31 and 32 of "Saraswati" for January, 1918.

[1] The Purusaparikṣā Durbhanga edition, pp. 223—233. (The 12th tale of the fourth chapter.)

[2] Cf. Empire India, Vol. IV. page 121: and also C. M. Duff's Chronology of India, page 169, 1899 edition.

It appears that Jaycanda of Kanauj came to Benares in 1193 A.D. and established himself there. About the year 1195 A.D. it appears that Muhammad Ghori commanded Kutubuddin to advance with a vast force to fight with the Raja of Benares (Jaya Canda) who was slain in the action (Taju-L-Ma-Asir of Hasan Nizam, Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 222-23).

"Shahab-ud-din Ghori, king of Ghazni, sent his slave, Kutbuddin, to make war against the provinces of Hind and this General made an incursion in which he killed many, and returned home with prisoners and booty. The king of Benares was the greatest king in India, and possessed the largest territory, extending lengthwise from the borders of China to the province of Malwa (Malwa), and in breadth from the sea to within ten days' journey of Lahore. When he was informed of this inroad, he collected his forces, and in the year 590 H. (1194 A.D.), he entered the territories of the Muhammadans. Shahab-ud-din Ghori marched forth to oppose him, and the two armies met on the river Yamina, which is a river about as large as the Tigris at Musal. The Hindu prince had seven hundred elephants, and his men were said to amount to a million. There were many nobles in his army. There were Mussulmans in that country since the days of Mahmud-din-Subuktgin, who continued faithful to the law of Islam, and constant in prayer and good works. When the two armies met there was great carnage; the infidels were sustained by their numbers, the Musulmans by their courage, but in the end the infidels fled, and the faithful were victorious. The slaughter of the Hindus was immense; none were spared except women and children, and the carnage of the men went on until the earth was weary. Ninety elephants were captured, and of the rest, some were killed and some escaped. The Hindu king was slain, and no one would have recognized his corpse but for the fact of his teeth, which were weak at their roots, being

But the tradition relates that one of *his* sons reigned in Nepal and the other, Gamgā Deva (or Gañgī Deva), in Mithilā. The latter is traditionally credited with having introduced the system of fiscal divisions or *pargannās* for the purposes of revenue administration; while a *Chaudhuri* or headman was appointed in each parganna to collect the revenue, and a pancayata was chosen to settle all disputes. Gañgā Deva was succeeded by his son Narasimha Deva, who is said to have had a quarrel with his kinsman, the king of Nepal, the upshot of which was that Mithilā and Nepal were separated never to be united again. Rāma Simha Deva,[1] who succeeded his father on the throne, was a pious devotee and a firm patron of sacred literature. Under his auspices several well-known commentaries on the Vedas were compiled, rules were framed for the guidance of Hindus in their religious and social observances; and an officer was appointed in each village to adjudicate upon all questions arising from the working of these new canons of conduct. Various reforms in the system of internal administration are also attributed to this king. In every village, a police officer was appointed whose duty it was to make a daily report of all occurrences worthy of note to the *chaudhuri* or head revenue collector of the *parganna*; the latter being assigned, in return for his services, a certain quantity of land, the produce of which was appropriated by him and his heirs in office. To the same period too is assigned the rise of the system of patwaris or village accountants, who were, it is said, paid at fixed rates from the village funds.

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fastened in with golden wire. After the flight of the Hindus Shahab-ud-din entered Benares, and carried off its treasures upon fourteen hundred camels. He then returned to Ghazni. Among the elephants which were captured there was a white one. A person who saw it told me that when the elephants were brought before Shahab-ud-din, and were ordered to salute, they all saluted except the white one. No one should be surprised at what I have said about the elephants, for they understand what is said to them. I myself saw one at Musal with his keeper, which did whatever his keeper told him" (Kamilu-T-Tawarikh of Ibn Asir, Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 250 and 251).

It may also be that this Shahabuddin Mohd. Ghori was the same person as Ghazi Muizzu-d-din Muhammad Sam. Minhaj, the author of Tabakat-i-nasiri, writes that under the orders of Sultan Sam, Kutubuddin Aibak defeated Rai *Jaya Canda of Benares*, A.H, 594 (1194 A.D.) and he also conquered the Eastern Provinces of Bengal and Behar (Tabakat-I-Nasiri of Minhaju-S-Siraj, page 300, Elliot, Vol. I).

[1] Rāmasimha Deva is mentioned in the book Suddhikalp-taru which was completed on the 14th of the bright half of the month Pauṣa in Samvat 1446 (1st January, 1390 A.D. which was a Saturday)—India Office MS. 4741, of the Suddhikalptaru, fol. 62 *b*:—

संवत् १४४६ समय पौषशुदि १४ शनौ श्रीमन्नारायणपुर रूपनारायणेत्यादि + + + +
दरलराजो विभाज मान महान्पति श्रीमद्राम सिंहदेव भुज्यमानया etc.

Rāma Simha Deva seems to have been a liberal patron of learning. His officer (Sadāsya) Śrikara Ācārya wrote the Vyākhyā amṛta, a commentary on the lexicon Amarakoṣa. Under his patronage Ratneśwara Miśra wrote a commentary on the rhetorical Sarasvati-kaṇṭhābharaṇa (the Ratnadarpaṇa) and Pṛthvidhara Ācārya wrote a commentary on the drama Mṛchakatikā.[1]

On the death of Rāma Simha Deva, his son Śakti Simha ascended the throne, but his despotism appears to have offended the nobles, and one of his ministers established a council of seven elders as a check upon the autocratic power of the king.

Harisiṁha Deva, the greatest king of Simrāon dynasty.

Hari Simha Deva, the son of Śakti Siṁha, was the last but, in popular esteem, the greatest of the line. It was this king, it is believed, who grouped the Maithil Brāhmaṇas into the three main divisions of Śrotriya, Yoga and Jaiwaras, made a classification of the sub-castes according to *mels* and *dihs*,[2] introduced the other matrimonial arrangements prevailing to this day, and established the order of Pañjiars or genealogists, who keep intact the purity of the Brāhmaṇa blood; the latter measure is said to have been taken by him in consequence of one of his ministers having married, in ignorance, a lady within the prohibited degrees of relationship. With this king at least we enter upon historical ground. In 1323, the Empeior Gyasuddin Tughlak led his victori-

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[1] For Śrikara, Nepal Durbar Cat. p. 23 :—

इति मिथिलामहीमहेन्द्र समस्तप्रक्रिया विराजमानश्रीम + + + + वरलब्धप्रसादपुण्यावलोक महाराजाधिराज श्रीमद्रामसिंहदेवानां सदस्य महामहोपाध्याय श्रीश्रीकरविरचितायाममरकोषविवरण टीकायां व्याख्यामृताभिधानायां भूकाण्डे + + + विवरण समाप्तं This commentary of Śrikara is quoted in Jagaddhara's commentary on the Veṇisaṁhāra nāṭakam, इति अमरटीकायां श्रीकरः (Nir. Sag. Press ed., p. 39). For Ratneśvar R. Mitra, Notes IX, p. 230, and Peterson's 3rd report, p. 350 (attributed to Ramasimha Deva in text, and to Ratneśvar in colophon) :—

श्रीरामसिंहदेवेन दोर्दण्डदलितद्विषा ।

क्रियतेऽवन्तिभूपाल कण्ठाभरणदर्पणः ॥ [१ ॥]

For Prithidhara Ācārya, cf. Weber's Berlin Catalogue, p. 161, मिथिलाधिपति श्रीमद्रामसिंहदेव ।

[2] This is based upon tradition backed up by the Maithila Pañjis.

Harisimha Deva overthrown by the Delhi King Gyasud Din Tughlak, 1323 A.D.

ous forces into Tirhut on his march back from the defeat of Bahadur Shah, the rebellious Governor of Bengal, and proceeded to reduce this outlying portion of the empire and appointed Ahmad Khan as Governor. Hari Simha fell back on the capital, Simrāon, but this was soon taken and reduced to ruins. Ferista gives the following account of its capture[1]:—

"As the king was passing near the hills of Tirhut, the Rājā appeared in arms, but was pursued into the woods. Finding his army could not penetrate them, the king alighted from his horse, called for a hatchet, and cut down one of the trees with his own hand. The troops, on seeing this, applied themselves to work with such spirit that the forest seemed to vanish before them. They arrived at length at a fort surrounded by seven ditches, full of water, and a high wall. The king invested the place, filled up the ditches and destroyed the wall in three weeks. The Rājā and his family were taken and great booty obtained."

The account generally received is that Hari Simha escaped to Nepal, conquered it, and established himself at or near Bhatgaon; and that his descendants continued to rule that country till they were displaced by Prthwi Nārāyaṇa on the Gurkha conquest of Nepal in 1769.[2] Recent researches, however, seem to show that neither Hari Simha nor his ancestors succeeded in maintaining any effectual authority over Nepal, and Professor Bendall sums up the position of this dynasty as follows:—"Until more evidence is forthcoming, it seems safer to regard Hari Simha and his ancestors, who reigned in Tirhut, Simrāon, and also possibly other parts of the Nepal Tarai, as at most titular kings of Nepal, even if they really claimed sovereignty over the valley of Nepal at all.[3]

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[1] *Cf.* pp. 406–407 of the History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India till the year 1612 A.D. translated from Ferista by Briggs, Vol I, Calcutta, 1908 edition; also Thomas' Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, 8,188, 194 and 199; J.R.A S, iv, 124· IA, XIII, 414, ETH, 403

[2] *Cf* Oldfield's Sketches from Nepal, Vol. I, 1880.

[3] Prof. C. Bendall's History of Nepal and surrounding Kingdoms, J.A.S.B. Vol. LXXII, Part I, 1903

The śloka below gives the date of Harisimhadeva's flight to Nepal as Śākā 1245 (1324 A.D.).

बाणाब्धिवाङ्क शशिसम्मित शाकवर्षे,

पौषस्य शुक्लदशमी क्षितिसूनुवारे ।

It is not certain what became of Harisiṁha's family after his defeat by Gyasuddin Tughlak. The Nepala Vamsāvali[1] (genealogy) and some Nepal manuscripts mention that Harisiṁha invaded Nepal in Newar Saṃvat 444 (=1324 A.D), but they do not say what happened after this invasion to the family of Harisiṁha. It is generally admitted that Jayāsthiti, a descendant of Harisiṁha, defeated Jayārjuṇa, Rājā of Nepal, and married princess Rajallādevi of the Nepal Rāja family in the Newar year 474 (=1353 A D.), established a reign of peace in Nepal, and encouraged learning.[2] It is possible that some of Harisiṁha's successors ruled off and on in Nepal, though it is not unlikely that they had a disturbed crown as it appears that Jayārajana or Jayadeva of the Nepal Rāja family was ruling there soon after Harisiṁha's invasion.

As regards Mithilā, it is said that three of his succes-

त्यक्ता स्व पट्टनपुरी हरिसिंहदेवो
दुर्दैव दर्शितपथे गिरिमाविवेश ॥

Cf. pages 17, Ain-i-Tirhut by Behāri Lal, 1883, the Bahar Kasmiri Press, Lucknow. The date of Harisiṁha's birth is mentioned as Śakā 1216 and the date of the preparation of the Tirhut Punjis (genealogical tables of the Brahmins) as Śākā 1232. *Cf.* the following śloka on the same page:—

शाके श्रीहरिसिंहदेव नृपतिर्भूयार्कतुल्योजनिः तस्माद्दन्तमितेब्दके द्विजगणः पञ्जी प्रबधःकृतः ।

D. W. Right in his history of Nepal has mentioned one Harideva of Nepal as separate from one Harisimhadeva, a Rājā of Oudh, who was expelled by the Muhmmadan power from Oudh, came and settled down at Simraon and then conquered the Nepal Valley, but did not maintain any effectual authority over it. But it may be conclusively mentioned that no Muhammadan historian has mentioned any Rājā named Harisimha Deva of Oudh and that the story regarding the Oudh origin of Harisiṁha Deva is a myth.

But *cf.* the reference to Harisimhadeva's sovereignty in Nepal in Indian Antiquary, 1880, p. 189, inscription No 19, verse 10.—

जात श्रीहरिसिंहदेवनृपतिः प्रौढ़ प्रतापोदयः
तद्वंशे विमले महारिपुहरे गाम्भीर्य्यरत्नाकरः ॥
कर्ता यः सरसामुपेत्य मिथिलां सलक्ष्य लक्षप्रियो
नेपाले पुनराप्त वैभवयुते स्थैर्य्यं विधत्ते चिरम् ॥ १० ॥

Also *cf.* Pandit Bhagwāna Lāla's note on Nepal ruling family. Ind. Antiquary, 1884, p. 414, which assigns definite periods of reigns as:—

Nānyadeva—50 years
Gamgādva—41 ,,
Nṛsimhadeva—39 ,,
Rāmasimha—58 ,,
Harisimha—28 ,,

[1] *Cf.* Nepalese Sanskrit Manuscripts, No. 6 of the Dentsdomorges (Dr Pischels, Catalogue, p. 8), p. XIV of Historical Introduction, Bendall's Sanskrit Manuscripts, Cambridge, 1883.

[2] *Cf.* pp. 11–13 of Bendall's History of Nepal and surrounding kingdoms.

sors, viz. Mati Simha, Śakti Simha and Syāma Simha ruled in successive order[1] for 15 and 22, and 15 years respectively. This would carry on his line in Mithilā to the year 1375 A.D. But it is most probable that Gyasuddin Tughlak installed some body in power on the defeat and expulsion of Harisimhadeva in 1324 A.D. and so Harisimha or his successors simply continued struggling in Tirhut after installation of a ruler by the Muslim Emperor. It is probable that Kāmeśwara and his descendants who were given the place of Harisimha, ruled for some time side by side with Harisimha and his descendants and that they could consolidate their power only after a struggle of some 50 years after the installation of Kāmeśwara.

Ruling dynasties in Mithilā and Nepal belonged to the same original stock.

The internal and the external evidence makes it certain that there were branches of the same original stock both in Mithilā and Nepal, though the Mithilā (Simrāon) dynasty was crushed out of existence by the Muslim onslaught and that the living members of the Mithilā dynasty settled down after this event in some parts of Nepal.

Though Nānya Deva, Gaṅgādeva, Narasimhadeva, Rāma Simha, Śakti Simha and Hari Simha have been recorded as kings of this dynasty in successive order, yet the two most important personages were Nānyadeva and Hari Simha Deva.

Harisimha Deva has been mentioned as king of Mithilā by Candeswara in the introduction to his Kṛtya-ratnākara. In the same introduction Candeśwara, his father Vīreśwara, and grandfather Devaditya, are called ministers of this king.[2] Ganeśwara, son of Devāditya,

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[1] *Cf.* Nepalese Sanskrit Manuscript, No. 6 of the Deutsdomorges (Dr. Pischels' Catalogue, p. 8), p. XIV, Historical introduction, Bendall's Sanskut Manuscript, Cambridge, 1883.

[2] The Kṛtya-*ratnākara*, As. Soc. Bengal MS., fol. 1a, Ind. *Govt.* MS. *3604 fol.* and I.O.MS. No. 1387:—

अस्ति श्रीहरसिंह देव नृपतिर्निःशेष विद्वेषिणां ।
निर्माथी मिथिलां प्रशासदखिलां कर्णाट वंशोद्भवः ॥
आशाः सिञ्चति यो यशोभिरमलैः पीयषधाराद्रवै-
र्देवः शारदपर्व्वरी पतिरिवाशेष प्रियम्भावुकः ॥ ४ ॥

Cf. also the Puruṣa-parikṣā, 2nd chapter, the story of Subuddhi :—

and author of the sugati[1] sopāna, also calls himself a minister. Candeśwara is said to have conquered Nepal for him after, which the minister performed the great religious gift of *tulā-purusa* (gift of gold of the donor's weight) on the bank of the Vāgmati river in the month of Mārga, Śakā 1286, or November, 1314 A.D.[2] As Candeśwara's father and grandfather had already served the king, the latter must have begun to rule several years before 1314. It would not thus be far from truth to infer that Harisiṁha Deva was ruling from the last decade of the thirteenth century.

In the Dāna-ratnākara Candeśwara is described as having rescued the earth flooded by Mlecchas,[3] Kavisekharācārya Jyotirīśvara in his two act comedy, the Dhūrtasamāgama,[4] is a little more definite. The comedy was played in the court of Karnāta-curāmani, king Harisiṁhadeva, who is said to have conquered Suratrāna (Sultan). The Sultan referred to is most probably the Delhi Sultan Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak, who in 724 H. (1324 A.D.) marched towards Bengal through Tirhut.[5]

आसीन्मिथिलायां कर्णाटकुलसम्भवो हरिसिंहदेवो नाम राजा। तस्य साङ्ख्यसिद्धान्त पारगामी दण्डनीतिकुशलो गणेश्वरनामधेयो मन्त्री बभूव ॥

Also Bhandarkar's reports, 1883-4, p. 48 : Hall's Sānkhyapravachana, p. 36.

For the ministership of Viresvara and Devāditya cf. the introductory verses of the Krtya-ratna and the Krtya-cintāmani (I.O. 1621), and also the final colophons of the various sections of the Ratnákara.

[1] Cf. Ind. Gov. MS. 6126, Intr. verse :—

वेदस्मृतिपुराणादि दृष्ट्वा लोकहितैषिणा ॥
कृतं सुगतिसोपानं श्रीगणेश्वरमन्त्रिणा ॥ १ ॥

[2] Cf. the Kṛtya, Dāna and Vivāda-ratnākara.

[3] The Dāna-ratnākara, final verse 2. R. Mitra, Notices, VI, 135, No. 2069 ;—

मग्ना म्लेच्छमहार्णवे येनोद्धृतासीत्तथा

[4] The Dhurta-samāgama nātaka the comedy of meeting of the cheats, printed (Calcutta and Bombay), Nep. Durbar Notices, p. 66.

नानायोधकिरणनिर्जितसुरत्राणत्र सद्दाक्षिनी-
न्त्यद्गीमकबन्धमेलकदलद् भूमि भमद् भूधरः।
अस्ति श्रीहरसिंहदेव नृपतिः कर्णाट चूडामणि-
र्द्यत् पार्थिवसार्थमौलि मुकुटन्यस्ताङ्घ्रिपङ्केरुहः

The Calcutta printed edition has नरसिंह for हरसिंह

[5] The Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi, Elliot, Vol. III, p. 234, says, "When the Sultan reached Tirhut, the ruler of Lakhnauti, Sultan, Nasir-ud-din, came forth with great respect to pay homage to the Sultan, and without the sword being called into requisition, all the *Rais*, and Ranas of the country made their submission."

It may therefore be taken that the comedy was played before the king, Hari Simha Deva, not earlier than about 1325 A.D.

The Simrāon dynasty succeeded by the Kameswara dynasty under the Muslims' sway.

With the flight of Hari Simha, Tirhut became practically a dependency of the empire of Delhi, and Emperor Gyasuddin Tughlak placed it under Kāmeśwar Thākur, the founder of the Sugaona or Thakkura dynasty which continued to rule over Tirhut till early in the 16th century.

It has already been said that the Rājās of Mithilā as of the rest of India were subject to the Delhi Emperor so far as they had to pay revenue, otherwise they were independent Ghiyasuddin Tughlak's son, Muhammad, issued coins with the mint name Tughlakpur' Urf Tirhut Two of them still exist. They belong to the forced currency system (brass for silver), and one in the Indian Museum is dated Cr. 731 H. (1330-1 A.D.).[1] Furthermore Vidyāpati in his tale of the Satyvīra (the truthful-hero) narrates that Muhammad, the Yavana king of Hastinapura, had a fight with the king Kafar (Kafar-rāja) during which Muhammad's men began to retire, on which he called for some warriors to stem this retreat; that prince Narasimha Deva of Karnāta kula and prince Carcikadeva of Cauhāna kula stepped forward, and that Narasimha[2] ultimately killed the Kafar raja,[3] whose head was cut off and taken to Muhammad by Carcikadeva.

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1 These two unique coins, specimens of Muhammad's mad attempts to force people to use brass coins in the place of silver for the same value, are of 140 and 133 grains respectively For the coins of 140 grains cf, Rogers' Indian Museum Coins, Part I, p 63, No 12911, and Bourdillion's Catalogue of Ind. Mus Coins, Vol. II, p. 60, No 384 For the coin of 133 grains, cf. J A.S B., 1883, p 62v, fig. 32 and Rogers' Cat., Part I, p 63, No 12912.

2 The name Nṛsimha, too, appears in the traditional account of Nepal inscription. He is named also in the Danapaddhati where the author Rāmadatta declares himself to be his mantri or minister Rāmdatta was uncle's son of Candeśvara Thakkura and was therefore near in time to that author. Hence Ramadatta's master Nrsimha must have been near in time to Candesvara's master, the king Harisimhadeva, and very likely succeeded him

The Dana Paddhati, I.O. MS 1714 (p 550) :—

आनम्रक्षितिपालमौलिवलभी प्रत्यग्र रत्नांकुर
ज्योतिः खचितपादपद्मयुगलः श्रीमन्नृसिंहो नृपः ।
शौर्ये श्रीनिकषः प्रशास्ति मिथिलाभूमण्डलं रंजयन्
कर्णाटान्वयभूषणः कृतधियां निर्व्याजकल्पद्रुमः ॥ १ ॥
मन्त्री तस्य महत्तमो गुरुरिव श्रीरामदत्तः सताम्
आधारः सुकृती समस्तभुवन प्रख्यातदानोत्सव ॥ २ ॥

3 Vidyāpati's Bhuparikramaṇa, Sans. Coll. Cat. VI, 79, fol. 27A-B

The rule of this dynasty left its mark on Sanskrit learning of Mithilā Smrtic studies were renewed and considerably developed by Caṇḍeśwara and his family, and by such notable scholars as Śridattopādhyāya, Harināthopāddhyāya, Bhavesarman, Indrapati and his pupil Lakṣmipati. Padmanābha Datta started an important school of grammar with his Supadma and its supplements, works which are still studied in the districts of Jessore and Khulna in Bengal On rhetoric and erotics, Bhānudatta Misra and some other authors wrote some of the most popular works.[1] Among literary compositions the commentary of Bhavadatta on epic poem Naisadhacaritam is still studied with interest; while the commentary of Pṛthvidhara Ācāryya on the drama Mrcchakatika written under the patronage of Rāmasiṁhadeva has been already noticed. Lexicon was represented by Srikara Ācāryya (commentary on the Amara-kosa). Jyotirīśvara also deserves mention for composing the earliest extant work in Maithili vernacular, the Varṇaratnākara.

CHAPTER III.

THE SUGĀON DYNASTY (OF KĀMESWARA).

Kāmeswara, the founder of the dynasty, under the protection of Firoz Shah Toghlak.

An account of the Sugāon dynasty may be interesting. Kameśwara[2] was the founder of this dynasty and he was set in his place as a ruler of Mithilā by the Delhi Emperor Gyasuddin Toghlak. Vaid-

पुरा चलितपुरनाम्नि नगरे मदमदनामा यवनेश्वरो बभूव [।] चलितग्रामगुरुं धरणीवलय ग्रासेति तदुत्कर्षासहिष्णुः काफरराजबलमभियोक्तुं सकलबलसहितस्स गजगाम fol. 208.
तत्र यवनराजवचन श्रुत्वा कर्णाटकुलस[redacted]ंहदेवनामा चौहानकुलसंभवश्चार्चिकनामा च मन्त्रिकुमारौ प्रोचतु.....[redacted]

1 In rheto[redacted]haraṇa was commented upon by Ratneśvara and [redacted]ote the Pañcasayaka and Rangasekhara, both quot[redacted]

[redacted]otes on mediaeval poets and songs of Mithilā, Indian [redacted]Vol. XIV, 1885, and p. 57; Vol. XXVIII, 1899; also Journal,

dhamāṇa has mentioned him in his Gaṅgā-kṛtya-viveka. It appears that he was a Brāhmaṇa and Rāja Paṇḍita, as mentioned by Vidyāpati in his Dāna Vākyāvali.[2] Kāmeśwara was succeeded by his son Bhogiśwara, who has been mentioned as a ruler in some of Vidyāpati's songs.[3] It is said that Kāmeśwara was deposed in favour of his son Bhogiśwara by Firoz Shah Toghlak.[4] Both were thus contemporaries of Firoz Shah Toghlak. Bhogiśwara is traditionally said to have been succeeded by his son Gaṇeśwara.[5]

Asiatic Society, Bengal, Vol. LXVIII (1899), Part I, p. 96, also C. Bendall's Notes, Journal, Asiatic Society Bengal, 1903, pp. 18-19; also Eggling, India Office Catalogue, pp. 875-6. Sugaon was the name of a village where the members of this family are said to have originally settled down. Its identity is not yet settled. Some place it at the modern village of Sugaon near Bettiah, others identify it with Sugawnā near Madhubani.

[1] Cf. the Gaṅgā-kṛtya-viveka (Br. Mus. Cat. p 75 No 198), Introd. verse 2,—

कामेशो मिथिलामशासत, etc.

The date of Kāmeśwara's instalment as ruler of Mithilā is uncertain. It is certain that Gyasuddin Tughlak expelled Harisimhadeva from Mithilā about 1324 A.D. and it is most probable that he set another man in his place in the same year. But as there is some reason to think that Harisimha's successors lingered on in Mithilā some time after his expulsion, it may be safe to assume that both the families ruled in different parts of Mithilā for some time before Kāmeśwara or his successors finally drove them out. Also as it is certain that Deva Simha who lived about 1410 A.D. was preceded by 5 Rājās of this dynasty, it is most probable that the first Rājā of this dynasty was installed in his place about 1325 A.D. even if only 15 years' reign is assigned to each of them. There are some songs (in the Maithili dialect) which would show that Sivasimha, who succeeded Devsimha, was the real or most powerful ruler. This would indicate that his predecessors were not fully established in authority perhaps as Harisimha's successors were struggling for their existence as rulers.

[2] Cf. The Ind. Govt. MS. of the Kirtti-latā, 2nd pallava, p. 3:—

प्रति कामेसरसनराय——and the Dāna-vākyāvali (R. Mitra, Notices, V, p. 137, No 1830, and R. Bhaṇḍārkara's Report for 1883-4, p. 352) introd verse 3:—

श्रीकामेश्वरराज पण्डित कुलालङ्कार सारः श्रिया, ।
मा रामो नरसिंहदेव मिथिला भूमण्डलाखण्डलः ॥

[3] The Padāvali (edited by Babu Nagendranātha Gupta in Bengali Sana 1316), song No. 801, the end verse:—

राजभोगिसर गुणआगरारे ।
पद्मादेवि रमान ॥ १ ॥

[4] Ind. Govt. MS. of the Kirtti-l

मति कामेसरसनराए [illegible] ।
[illegible] भणि पिअरोजसाहि सुरतान सन

[5] Cf. p. 416 of the Journal of th[e] ... md II, 1916 edition

'idyāpati's praise of Kirtisimha Deva.

Bīrasiṁhadeva followed Gaṇeśwara. He was followed by his brother Kīrtisiṁhadeva. Bīrasiṁha and Kīrtisiṁha were sons of Gaṇeśwara. Kīrtisiṁha has been aised by Vidyāpati in his Kīrtilatā.[1]

Bhaveśa or Bhavasiṁhadeva succeeded Kīrtisiṁha. : was the younger son of Kameśwara. According to dyāpati's Puruṣa-parikṣā Bhava Siṁha Deva gave up his dy before Lord Śiva on the bank of the river Bāgmati.[2]

eva Simha's patronage of learning.

Bhava Siṁha Deva was succeeded by his son Deva Siṁha whose viruda[3] was Garuṛa Nārāyaṇa. He patronised the Paṇḍitas. By his order Vidyāpati wrote the ırikramaṇa describing the travel of Baladeva from the ıimiṣya forest to Janakadeśa (Mithīlā)[4] in the course of ıich he was told eight moral tales, with this king's connt, Śrīdatta compiled the smṛtic Ek-āgni-dāna-paddhati.[5] arihara, grandfather of Murāri, was his Chief Judge.

It is certain that Deva Siṁha lived before the L.S. ar 291 (=1410 A.D.) when the copying of a manuscript Śrīdhara's commentary on the Kāvya Pradīpa by order

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1 Cf. Ind. Govt. MS., 2nd pallava, p. 4 :—

चन्द्रचूड़ चरणसेव समस्तप्रक्रिया विराजमान महाराजाधिराज श्रीमद्वीरसिंहदेव तत्-
तष्ठ गरिष्ठ गुण कीर्ति सिंह भूपाल ॥

Also Ind. Govt. MS., 1st pallava, introd. verse 5, p. 1 .—

श्रोतुर्ज्ञातुर्वदान्यस्य कीर्तिसिंह महीपतेः ।
करोतु कवितुः काव्य विद्यापतिः कविः ॥

2 Cf. Vidyāpati's Puruṣa-parikṣa, the end verse No. 1 :—

बाग्वत्यां भवसिंहदेव नृपतिस्त्यक्त्वा शिवाग्रेवपुः ।
पूतो यस्य पितामहस्सुरगमद्वारद्वयालंकृतः ॥ १ ॥

3 Viruda-Poetic or honorific name according to qualification

4 Cf. The Bhu-parikramaṇa, Sanskrit College MS., VI, 79 (fol. 1a) introd. es 23 :—

देवसिंह निदेशाच्च नैमिषारण्यवासिनः ॥
शिवसिंहस्य पितुः सुतपोड निवासिनः ॥ १ ॥
पंचषष्टि देशयुतां पचषष्टि कथान्वितां ॥
चतः खण्डसमायक्तासाञ्च विद्यापतिः कविः ॥ २ ॥

of Vidyāpati was completed and when Śiva Simha w ruling Tirhut,[1] and also before the L.S. year 29 (=14 A.D.) when a manuscript of Śrīdatta's Ek-āgni-dāna-pa dhati (compiled under this king's order) was completed.

He is said to have removed his capital to a pla called Devakuli which he named after himself.[3]

Deva Simha was succeeded by his son Śiva Sim who has been highly praised by Vidy pati in his Puruṣa-parikṣa.[4] Ś Simha bore the "Viruda", Ru Nārāyaṇa. Vidyāpati has praised h and his queen Lakhimadevī in a very large number of songs. Vidyāpati's songs mention Tipura Simha, Aryu Rai, Amara Simha, Rudra Simha, Rai Damodara and oth as contemporaries of Śiva Simha. But no authentic pr regarding these princes is available. He is said to ha built his capital at Śiva Simhapura or Gajarathapu Śiva Simha was ruling in the La Samvat 291 when manuscript of Śrīdhara's Kāvya-prakāśaviveka was cop

Vidyāpati's praise of Śiva Simha and his queen Lakhimā Devi.

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[1] Cf. the Kāvya-prakaśa-viveka, Ind. Govt MSS. fol. 117a.

इति तर्काचार्य्यठक्कुर श्रीश्रीधरविरचिते काव्यप्रकाशविवेक(के) दशम उल्लासः ॥ शुः समस्तविरुदावली महाराजाधिराज श्रीमत्शिवसिंहदेव संभुज्यमान तीरभुक्ती श्रीगज पुरनगरे सप्रक्रिये सदुपाध्यायठक्कुर श्रीविद्यापति नामाज्ञया खोपाखस श्रीप्रभाकर लिखितैषा हस्ताभ्यां [।] लस २९१ कार्तिक वदि १० [।]

According to a song attributed to Vidyāpati, Devasimha died on a Thurs month Caitra, Lā Sam. 293.

अनल रन्ध्र कर लक्खन नरवइ सक समुद्दकर (पुर ?) अगिनि ससी चैतकारि छठि मिलिओ वार वेहप्पई जाउलसी ॥

परिषद् ग्रन्थावलि, २४, पृष्ठ ४७१

[2] Nepal MSS. Notices, page 129, the final colophon —

इति महामहोपाध्याय मिश्र श्रीनगेश्वरात्मजावस्थित + + + + + ध्यायश्री श्रीदत्त प वेकाग्नि विधि महाधन विधान पूर्णम् । समाप्तोयं ग्रन्थः । शुभमस्तु । लस २९९ पौष शुदि ९ ....श्रीधनेश्वरेण लिखितेयं पुस्तीति ।

[3] Cf. p. 57 of the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXVIII, 1899.

[4] The Puruṣa-parikṣa (Mitra, Notices V. 245, No. 1022) the introd. verse 3

निर्चेसाग्निसङ्ग सहसि शिवसिंहक्षितिपतेः ।
कथानां प्रस्तावं विरचयति विद्यापति कविः ॥

And the final colophon of the 4th

इति समस्तप्रक्रिया विराजमान

श्रीविद्यापति

by order of Vidyāpati.[1] Padma Siṁha, younger brother of Śiva Siṁha, succeeded him and has been mentioned by Vidyāpati in Śaiva-sarvaśwa-sāra.[2]

According to Puruṣa-parikṣā and Śaiva-Sayvvaswa-sāra, Vidyāpati is said to have defeated the rulers of Gauḍa (Bengal) and Gajjan.[3] It is not known who was this ruler of Gajjan, but perhaps he was some Muhammadan ruler near Tirhut. Śivasiṁha appears also to have struck gold coins[4] in his name and it is probable that he succeeded in making Mithilā absolutely independent.

Harīsiṁhadeva, who was younger son of Bhava Simha and a younger brother of Deva Siṁha, succeeded Padma Siṁha. He has been mentioned by Vidyāpati in his Bibhāgasāra. He has also been mentioned by Vācāṣpati Miśra in Kṛtya-mahārṇava[5] and Mahā-dāna-nir-ṇaya, by Miśaru Miśra in his Vivād candra and Varddhamāna in his Gaṁgā-kṛtya-viveka.[6] He must be distinguished from his name-sake of the Karnāt dynasty.

Narasiṁha Deva

Harisiṁhadeva was succeeded by his son Narasiṁhadeva, whose "Viruda" was Darpaṇārāyaṇa. By his name or by his viruda is mentioned in several works, e.g. in Vidyāpāti's ina-vākyāvali and Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇi, in Vācāṣpati śra's Kṛtya-mahārṇava, Vyavahāra-cintāmaṇi and ıhādāna nirṇaya, in Miśaru Miśra's Vivādacandra, in ıcipati's Anargha-Rāghava-tīkā, in Varddhamān Gaṁgā-

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1 Cf. India Govt. MS. fol 117 a

2 Cf. The Saiva-saravvasva-sāra, introd verse 6 and 8 —

सङ्ग्रामाङ्गणसीम भीम सदृशस्तस्यानुजस्तूलस-
दान स्वपित कल्पवृक्ष महिमाऽसौ पद्मसिंहो नृपः ॥ ५६ ॥
पत्युः सिंहासनस्था पृथुमिथिलमही मण्डल पालयन्ती
श्रीमद्विश्वास देवी जगति विजयते चर्य्ययारुन्धतीव ॥ ८ ॥

3 Cf. Puruṣa-parikṣa and Saiva sarvvasva-sāra.

4 Annual Report of Archæological Survey of India, 1913-14.

5 The Vibhaga-sāra (R Mitra, Notices, VI, p. 68. No. 2037) introd. verse 2:—

राज्ञो भवेशाद्धरि (र) सिंह आसीत्, the Kṛtya-Mahārṇava (R. Mitra, Notices V. No. 1886), and the Mahādāna-nirnaya (Nepal MSS, p. 122), introd. verse 3—

संग्राम सीमनि भगांक्षिदश्री करिष्यत् आविर्बभूव तनयो हरसिंह देवः ॥ ३ ॥

6 The Vivāda-candra (Sans. Coll C[illegible] II, 116), introd. verse 3:—

तस्माद्भवनोऽजनि स्नुसारोधीमानुमाक्लुसमान सारः ।
राजोपजीव्यो हरसिंह नामा ततो नृपो दर्पनारायणोऽभूत ॥ ६ ॥

krtya-viveka, and in Gadādhara's Tantra-pradipa.[1] He should be distinguished from his name-sake of the Karnāta dynasty.

Two of his queens are known, Dhīramati by whose order Vidyāpati wrote the Dāna-vākyāvali, and Hīrā, mother of Candrasiṁha mentioned in Miśru's Vivāda-candra.[2]

Narasiṁha's eldest son, Dhīra Siṁha, succeeded him.

Dhīra Siṁha

He bore the "viruda" of Hridaya-nārāyaṇa. He is mentioned in Vidyāpati's last work, the Durgā-bhakti-taraṅginī, in Vācaspati-Miśra's Vyavahāra-cintāmaṇi, in Madhu-sudana Miśra's Jyotiṣa-pradīp-aṅkura, and in Gadādhara's Tantra pradīpa.[3]

Dhīra Simha lived in 1438 A.D.

On a Saturday when it was new moon of the month of Kārtika in Lakṣmaṇasena year 321, a MS. of Śrīnivāsa's Setu-darpaṇi (a commentary on the Prākṛta poem Setu-bandha) was copied while Dhirasiṁha was ruling Tirabhukti (Tirhut). It appears that in 1438 A.D. the Kārtika new moon fell on Saturday (18th October).[4] Thus

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[1] Cf. the Dāna-vākyāvali (R. Mitra, Notices, V, 137 No. 1830, R. Bhandarkara's Rep. for 1883-4, p. 352; I.G.M.S. 5545) the Durgā-bhakti-taraṅginī (Ind. Govt. Newari MS. 4860 fol. 1a), introd. verse 3:—

स्वस्ति श्रीनरसिंहदेव मिथिला भूमण्डलाखण्डलो *etc,*

and the end verse No. 2—

भूप श्रीभवसिंहवंशतिलकः श्रीदर्पनरायणः ।

The Vivāda-candra and the Gaṅga-kṛtya-viveka have been quoted already in note 4 on the previous page.

For Rūcipati's mention of Narasiṁhadeva, cf. the Nirnayasagara Press edition of the Anargha-Rāghava-tikā, introd. verse 2, p. 2:—

अभूदभूत प्रतिपक्षभीतिः सदा समासादित भूमिनीति. ।

चिरं कृतार्थी कृत भूमिदेवः स्फुरत् प्रतापो नरसिंहदेवः ॥ २ ॥

[2] The Dana-vakyāvali, introd verse 4:—

विज्ञानुज्ञाप्य विद्यापति मति कृतिन सम्प्रमाणामुदाराम् ॥

राज्ञीपुण्यावलोका विरचयति नवां दानवाक्यावलीं या ॥ ४ ॥

and the Vivāda-candra, introd. verse 4:—

दर्पनारायण न्टपतेः श्रीमद्धीरा महादेवी ।

अलभत् सुनय तनय नरपति गुणराजिपरीतं प्रवरम् ॥ ५ ॥

[3] This prince Gadādhara was a son of Raghavendra, who was son of the King Dhīra Simha.

[4] Cf. the Setu-darpaṇi, final colophon:—

परमभट्टारकेत्यादि महाराजाधिराज श्रीमल्लक्ष्मणसेन देवीयैक विंशत्यधिक शतत्रयतमाब्दे

it is clear that Dhīra Siṁha lived in the 1st half of the 15th century.

Bhairava Siṁha succeeded Dhīra Siṁha.

Bhairava Siṁha was the younger brother and successor of Dhīra Siṁha. Dhīra Siṁha had at least one son, Rāghavendra. It is not known how Bhairavendra came to oust him out of the throne. But in the Durgā-bhakti-tarañgiṇi Bhairavendra is highly praised, and from his "Viruda"[1] Rupanārāyaṇa, it is not improbable that he was ruling jointly with Dhīrasiṁha at the time, just as Śivasiṁha is said to have been ruling with his father Devasiṁha. He appears to have assumed, probably when he became the sole ruler, the other "Viruda" Harinārāyaṇa. By his name or his later viruda he is mentioned in other works, such as Rucipati's Anargha-Rāghavatīkā, in Vācāṣpati Miśra's Dvaita-nirṇaya, Kṛtya-mahārṇava, Mahādāna-nirṇaya, Sudr-ācāracintāmaṇi and Pitrabhakti-taraṅgini, and in Varddhamāna's Daṇḍa-viveka, and Gaṁgā kṛtya-viveka.[2]

कार्तिकामावस्यायां शनौ समस्त प्रक्रिया विराजमान रिपुराज कंस नारायण शिवभक्तिपरायण महाराजाधिराज श्रीश्रीमद्धीरसिंह संभुज्यमानायां तीरभूक्तौ अल्लापुरतपा प्रतिबन्ध (द्ध) सुन्दरी-ग्रामे वसता सदुपाध्याय श्रीसुधाकराणामात्मजेन छात्रश्रीरत्नेश्वरेण स्वार्थं परार्थंच लिखितमिदं सेतुदर्पणीपुस्तकमिति ॥

Dhīrasiṁha is here given the virudu Kaṁśa-nārayaṇa an epithet also suggested in the introductory verse 6 of the Durgā-bhakti-tarañgini, and adopted later on by Lakṣminātha :—

देवी भक्तिपरायणः श्रुतिसुख प्रारब्धपारायणः
संग्रामे रिपुराज कंसदलन प्रत्यक्षनारायणः ।
विश्वेषां हितकाम्यया नृपवरोऽनुज्ञाप्य विद्यापति
श्रीदुर्गोत्सव पद्धतिं सतनुते दृष्ट्वा निबन्धस्थिति ॥ ६ ॥

Cf. pages 425-26 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for November and December 1915, Vol. XI.

[1] Cf. I.G.MS. 4760, fol. la, the introd verse 5 and the end verse No. 2:—

शौर्य्यावर्जित पञ्चगौडधरणीनाथोपनम्रीकृता-
नेकोत्तुङ्गतरङ्गसङ्गत सितच्छत्राभिरामोदयः ।
श्रीमद्भैरव सिंहदेव नृपतिर्यस्यानुजन्मजय-
त्याचन्द्रार्कमखण्डकीर्त्तिसहितः श्रीरूपनारायणः ॥

[2] Cf. The Anargha-Rāghava-tikā (Nirn. Sag. ed.), p. 2 introd. verse 3:—

सूनुस्तस्य वसुंधरापरिवृढस्यानन्दकन्दस्थिते-
राधारो जगतामशेष विदुषां विश्रामकल्पद्रुमः ।

Queen Jayā or Jayatmā

Only one queen's name is found,[1] Jayā (Jayātmā). She was mother of Rājādhirāja Puruṣottamadeva, and at her instance, Vācāspati wrote the Dvaita-nirnaya, on the doubtful points of smrti.[2]

Bhairava Simha's patronage of Sanskrit learning

Bhairavendra patronized the Sanskrit learning. Under his patronage, Rucipati wrote his commentary, Vācāṣpati Miśra compiled the Vyavahāra-cintāmaṇi, Kṛtyamahārṇava and the Mahādāna-nirṇaya and Varddhamāna Upādhyāya composed the Daṇḍa-viveka[3] Vācāṣpati was his "pariṣad" or officer, and Varddhamāṇa his dharmādhikāranika[4] or Judge.

दानेकर्ण कथावलेपनिपुण' समारत्नाकुरो

भूमिपाल शिरोमणिर्विजयते श्रीभैरवेन्द्रो नृप ॥ ३ ॥

Also J R.A S, n s, XX, 554

[1] Tradition says that there were two queens, Jyano and Jñyano Jyano's son was Garudanarayana Pursottamadeva and Jñyano's son was Rūpa Nārayana Ramabhadra. He succeeded Bhairava Simha.

[2] Cf. the Dvaita-nirṇaya (R Mitra, Notices, I, p 149 No 275), introd verses 5 and 7.—

विष्णोर्व्यक्त पुरमिव श्राश्नोरिव देववामार्द्धे ।

देवीसनाभिरेषा जयति जयात्मा महादेवी ॥

श्रीभैरवेन्द्र धरणीपति धर्म्मपत्नी राजाधिराज पुरुषोत्तमदेवमाता ।

वाचस्पति निखिल तन्त्रविद नियुज्य द्वैते विनिर्णयविधि विधिवत्तनोति ॥ १ ॥

[3] Cf the colophons of Anargha Raghava-tika,

इति समस्तप्रक्रियाविराजमान रिपुराज कंस नारायण भवभक्तिपरायण श्रीहरिनारायण पदसमलङ्कृत महाराजाधिराज श्रीमद्भैरव सिंहदेव निदेश प्रोत्साहित वैजालीग्राम वास्तव्यश्री-खालवंशप्रभव श्रीरुचिपति महोपाध्याय विरचितायामनर्घराघवटीकायां सप्तमोऽङ्क' ॥

Bhairavasimha, like Dhirasimha, is here given the additional viruda Kamsanārayana. For Vācaspati Misra's works one quotation will suffice, viz the introd. verse 8 in the Madana-nirnaya (Nep Notices, p. 123) :—

श्रीवाचस्पतिधीर सहकारितयां समासाद्य ।

श्रीभैरवेन्द्रनृपति' स्वय महादाननिर्णय तनुते ॥ २ ॥

Also cf the Danda-viveka (As, Sec. MS I B 41, page 1) introd. verse 5 :—

उच्छृङ्खल प्रखल खंडन पण्डितेन । श्रीभैरवेण मिथिलापृथिवीश्वरेण ॥ तेनानुकल्प्य सहृदय्यवलोक्यमाना । श्रीवर्धमान कृतिनोऽस्तु कृतिः कृतार्था ॥ ५ ॥

[4] Cf. the final colophons of the Sudr-ācāra-cintāmani (R. Mitra, Notices, VI, p 22, No, 20015) and the colophons of the Daṇḍa-viveka, (As Sec. MS., pp 48, 59, 66, 80, 108)

Bhairava Simha's conquest of Gauda.

During the rule of Dhirasimha, Bhaiiava had by his valour already subjugated the lord of Pañca Gauḍa[1] He is said to have influenced Kedāıa Rāya, the representative (pratiśariram) of the lord of Gauḍa He dug hundreds of tanks, gave away towns and pattanas (hamlets) as gifts, and performed the Tulā-purusa-gift ceremony.[2]

Bhairavendra had a younger brother by name Candra Simha, who is named in Vidyāpati's Duıgābhakti-tarañgini and Miśāru Miśra's Vivāda-candra and Padārtha candra[3] He was probably a step brother, for Gadādhara in his Tantra-pradīpa mentions only two sons of Darpanārāyaṇa (Nara-simhadeva), viz. his own grandfather Dhīrasimha and Bhairavendra,[4] and he would not have omitted Candra-Simha, if the latter had been their uterine brotheı Candrasimha had a wife named Lakhiınādevī or Lachima Mahādevī at whose instance Miśaru Miśra wrote his two works[5]

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1 Cf. the Danda-vıveka, ıntrod verse 4 (As Sec MS., p. 1) —

.य· श्रीकुसेनमुपनीतसमस्त सेनमं, आत्मीय सैनिकमिवात्मसतेनियुक्ते । गौडेश्वर प्रतिशरीरमति प्रतापः, केदाररायमवगच्छति दारतुल्यम् ॥ ४ ॥

2 The Mahādāna-nırnaya (Nep. Notices p. 112) introd verse 7 —

विधाय सरसी शत नगरपत्तनद्रीमदात्,
विजित्य भूपतिनद्रीतटात्तुलापुरुषान् ।
य एष न्टप भैरव समर यौव्नि पञ्चाननो,
जयत्यविधि दारको जगति राजहन्दारकः ॥

3 The Durgā bhaktı Tarañgını (Ind. Govt MS 4660, fol 99a) end verse 3 —

यस्य चीर समुद्रमुद्र यशसो रामस्य सौमित्रिवत् ।
चौणि मण्डल मण्डनो विजयते श्रीचन्द्रसिंहोऽनुज' ॥ ३ ॥

The Vıvāda-candra (Sans Coll MS II. 1107, fol. 1a), ıntrod. verses 4 and 5, and the Padārtha-candıa (R. Mıtra Notıces, IX, p 12 No. 290) In Vıdyāpatı's Padāvalı ıs ıncluded a song of one Bhanu (No 322) wishıng long lıfe to Candıa sımha :—

चन्द्रसिंह नरेश जीवतु
भानु चम्पए रे ॥ ५ ॥

4 The Tantra-pradīpa (R. Mıtra Notıces VI, p 233, No. 2172), the final verse No. 1, note 2 on page 424.

5 The Vivāda candra (Sans. Coll. MS. II. 117, fol 1a), ıntrod, verse 5 :—

श्रीमल्लखिमादेवी तस्य चन्द्रसिंह न्टपतेर्दयितस्य ।
मिसरू मिश्रद्वारा रचयति विवाद चन्द्राभिरामम् ॥ ५ ॥

Rāmabhadra Deva's patronage of Sanskrit learning.

Bhairavendra was succeeded by his son Rāmabhadradeva, who assumed the viruda of Rūpanārāyāna. Rāmbhadra followed in the footsteps of his father in encouraging the study of Sanskrit. Under his patronage, Vācāspati Miśra, his pariṣada. wrote in his old age probably his last smṛti work, the Pitrabhakti-taraṅgini, and Varddhamāna compiled at his instance the Gaṁgā kṛtya-viveka and the Tattvāmṛta-sāroddhāra.[1] Śrī Rāma Bhatta while on pilgrimage went from Gaya to Tīrabhukti apparently attracted by the fame of this Brahmin king, and after paying a visit to the king, returned to Prayāga (Allahabad), a fact which he noted at the end of the chapters of his commentary on the Sārasvata grammar.[2]

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and the Padārtha-candra introd. verse No. 2 :—

श्रीचन्द्रसिंह नृपतेर्दयिता लखिमा महादेवी ।
रचयति पदार्थचन्द्र मिसरु मिश्रोपदेशेन ॥

The affix Candra is evidently derived from the name of his patron's husband.

[1] Cf. the P. bh. Tarañgini (Ind. Govt. MS. 897, fol. 84a) the final colophon :—

इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराज श्रीहरिनारायणात्मज श्रीरूपनारायणपदवीमलङ्कृत मिथिलामण्डलश्रीरामभद्रचरणादिष्टेन परिषदा श्रीवाचस्पतिशर्म्मणा विरचितोऽयं श्राद्धकल्पः परिपूर्णः ।

For Varddhamān, cf. the G. K. viveka (Br. Mus. Cat. pp. 75—6), introd. verse 2 and 4 and the final colophon :—

तस्माद् भैरवसिंह भूपतिरभूत् श्रीरामभद्रस्ततो ।
दीपाद्दीपइवाभवत् स इव सद्राजां गुणैरुज्ज्वलः ॥ २ ॥
कृते तस्य कृतज्ञस्य गङ्गाकर्तव्य कर्म्मणाम् ।
विवेकमुद्घाटयति वर्द्धमानो यथागति ॥ ४ ॥

The final colophon (p. 76) :—

इति महाराजधिराज श्रीहरिनारायणात्मज महाराजधिराज श्रीमद्रामभद्रदेवपादानां कृते श्रीवर्द्धमानकृतो गङ्गाकृतविवेकः समाप्तः ॥ लसं ३१९ पौषवदि १३ बुध वेलौनोग्रामे कुरुपन्दीगामीणोपाध्याय श्रीमुरारीणा लिखितैषा पुस्तीति ॥ The Tattv-amṛta Saroddhāra (R. Mitra, Notices VI, p. 57, No. 2030), end verse 4.

तस्माच्चतुर्भि रेभिः कुसुमैरिव गुम्फितो गुणोपचितैः ।
मालेवैष निबन्धो रामपतेः कण्ठभूषणं भवतु ॥ ४ ॥

The King is here called Rāmapati.

[2] For Rāma Bhatta's visit, cf. the Vidvat-prabodhiṇi (Ind. Off. Cat., p. 214, No. 804) :—

गयाया निर्गतो रामस्तीरभुक्ताख्यदेशपम् ।
रूपनारायणं विप्रं सन्तुष्टं स्वगिराकरोत् ॥
रूपनारायणाद् भूपादाज्ञां प्राप्य सुतान्वितः ।
तीरभुक्ताख्यदेशाच्च प्रयागं समुपागतः ॥

Rāmabhadra Deva's time, 1496 A.D.

Rāmabhadra must be older than La. Sam. 376, Pauṣa vadi 13, Wednesday (13th January, 1496 A.D.) when the copying of MS. of the Gaṅgā-kṛtya-viveka was completed. Furthermore Gadādhara wrote the Tantra-pradīpa while Rāmabhadra was ruling, and was therefore his contemporary.[1] At the instance of this prince Gadādhara a MS. of Bhojadeva's Vividha-vidyā-vicāracatura was copied on Friday Srāvaṇa vadi 1 of La. Sam. 372; and a MS. of the Dāna-kaṇḍa of the Kṛtya-kalpa taru was copied in Śakā 1426 and La. Sam. 374 Kārtika Śukla 5 Wednesday.[2] Gadādhara was therefore living in 1489–93 A.D. and Rāmabhadradeva[3] cannot be placed later than 1490 A.D.

Lakṣmināth Deva, 1510 A.D.

Rāmbhadradeva was succeeded by Lakṣmināthadeva who adopted the viruda of Kanśanārāyaṇa. Under his patronage, Harapati Agamācārya, son of Rucipati who had been patronized by Bhairavendra compiled the Tāntrik work mantra-pradīpa.[4]

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1 For the Gaṅgā-kṛtya-viveka, cf. note. The Tantra-pradipa (Mitra, No. 2172), end verse 3:—

भूपः श्रीरामभद्रो धरणिसुरतरु भैरवेन्द्रात्मजन्मा ।
क्षौणीमेतामिदानीं चतुरुदधि + +•+ पूरसीमां प्रशास्ति ॥ ३ ॥

2 Nepal Notices, p. 65 — समस्तेत्यादि महाराजाधिराजवर कुमार श्रीमद्गदाधरदेवपादानामाज्ञया श्रीशुभपतिभिर्लिखितमिदं पुस्तकमिति । लसं ३७२ । श्रावण वदि १ शुक्रे श्रीरत्नधरनगरे । Ind. Govt. MS. 4026 fol. 13 la लसं ३७४ कार्त्तिक शुदि ५ बुधे अजिनौलीग्रामे समस्तप्रक्रिया विरा + + (जमा) ने महावरकुमार श्रीमद्गदाधर सिंहदेवपादानामाज्ञया श्रीशुभ पतिना लिखितमिदं पुस्तकमिति ॥ शाके १४१६ ॥ Then (at the end) गत लक्ष्मणसेन देवीय चतुःसप्ताधिक शतत्रयाब्दीय कार्त्तिक शुक्ल पञ्चम्यां रौहिणेये both the MSS. were writen by the same copyist Subhapati.

3 This king has been wrongly identified by Professor Bendall with Rāmasiṁha deva of the Karnāta dynasty (the History of Nepal by C. Bendall, J.A S.B., 1903, p. 19).

4 Cf. the Mantia-pradipa (R. Mitra, Notices, VI, pp. 34-5) introd. .verse 4 and the final colophon:—

श्रीकंसनारायणभूमिपालः सानुग्रहो मे कुरुते निदेशम् ।
मन्त्रप्रदीपं कुरुसत्वरं त्वं यद्दर्शने मे भवति प्रसीदः ॥ ४ ॥

Its final colophon:—

इति समस्तप्रक्रिया विराजमान शिवभक्तिपरायण महाराजाधिराज श्रीमत् कंसनारायण श्रीमल्लक्ष्मीनाथदेव निदेश प्रोत्साहिताज्ञया बीजालीग्रामवासी विख्यात श्रीआलमानीण महामहोपाध्याय श्रीरुचिपतिशर्म्मात्मजागमाचार्य्य श्रीहरपति विरचिते मन्त्रप्रदीपे पञ्चदशः पटल

A Maithila MS. of the Devīmahātmyam was copied during his reign on Wednesday, La. Sam. 392, Pausa vadi 3, or December 1910 A.D.[1] So this king was ruling at least in 1510 A.D.

Lakṣminātha Deva, the last ruler of Sugāon of Kameśwara dynasty, overthrown by Sikandar Lodi, 1496 A D

Lakṣminātha evidently came into collision with the powerful Sultan Sikandar Lodi of Delhi. In the peace concluded between Ala-ud-din Husain Shah and Sikandar Lodi in H. 901 (1496 A.D.) Bihar and Tirhut appear to have been allotted to the latter, on condition that he would not invade Bengal.[2] Sikandar Lodi then fell on Tirhut, and reduced its king to submission.[3] Later on, about the year 930 H. (1530 A.D.), Ala-ud-din Husain Shah's son and successor, Nasrat Shah, descended upon Tirhut, killed the Rājā and subjugated the whole tract.[4]

The Kāmeśvara dynasty saw its end at the beginning of the 16th century.

It is difficult to ascertain and state the exact date for the rulers of this dynasty, but it may be safely stated that this dynasty flourished between the year 1324 when Firoz Shah Toghlak enthroned

1 Cf. Nepal Notices, p. 63, final colophon.—

ल्सं ३९२ पौष वदि ३ बुधे महाराज श्रीकंसनारायणदेव प्रचारेण....श्रीउदयकरेण लिखितैषा पुस्तीति ॥

2 Cf. Makhzan-i-Afghani, translation by Dorn, 1829, Part I, p. 59, and Part II, p. 96.

3 Al-Badaoni writes, "Sultān Husain, leaving his Deputy, i.e. Malik Kandhu (Firishta) in Bihar, could not remain there, but proceeded to Khul Gawna, one of the dependencies of Lakhnauti, and Bihar fell into the hands of Sikandar's troops. Thence the Sultan proceeded to Tirhut and conquered it."

"And in the year 901 H. (1495 A.D.) Khan-i-Jahan Lodi died, and Ahmad Khan his eldest son was styled A'zam Khan Humayun. The Sultan returned from Tirhut and went to pay a visit to the tomb of Qutbu-i-Mashaikhi-i-Izam, i e. MSS. (AB) (B) in Bihar (Firishta]. Shaikh Sharfu-d-Din Muniri (he was the son of Yahya-i-Israil, the head of the Chishtis, a disciple of Gani-i-Shakkar. His burial place is in Bihar, cf. Ain-i-Akbari (J) III, 370) *may God sanctify his resting place*, and came to Darveshpur. From thence he set out on an expedition against Sultan Alau-d-Din king of Bengala, and in the vicinity of Bihar, the son of Sultan Alau-d-Din, whose name was Danial, in obedience to his father's orders came out to overthrow Sultan (Sikandar), and prepared to oppose him, but they retraced their steps, each one contenting himself with his own territories and consenting to make peace. In this year great scarcity and death occurred in the camp of the Sultan; orders were promulgated remitting the customary tribute of grain in all provinces, in fact they were entirely abolished. From thence he came to the township of Saran, and divided that district among his own followers in perpetuity, and came by way of Mahligarh to Jaunpur, and having spent six months there proceeded to Panna, cf. pages 415-17 of Ranking's Translation of Al-Badaoni Muntakhabu-t-tawarikh, Vol. I (1898 edition).

4 Cf. pp. 133-40 of the Riyaz-us-salatin by Ghulam Husain Salim translated by Abdus Salam, Calc. edition, 1902.

Kāmeśvara and the year 1496 when Sikandar Lodi invaded Tirhut.[1] It is not exactly known how this dynasty came to its end. But it is certain that it ceased to exercise independent authority about the year 1530 A.D. Nasrat Shah, king of Bengal, came down upon Tirhut and killed the Rājā and practically made the Kāmeśvara or "Oinwara"[2] dynasty of Maithila Brāhmaṇas extinct.

It is sometimes doubted if the Kāmesvara dynasty was ever really independent of the Muhammadan sway. From the fact that Kāmesvara Thakkura was set in his place by Emperor Firoz Shah Tughlak, it may be safely assumed that the rulers of the dynasty had to pay tribute of some kind to the Delhi Emperors to whom they owed allegiance, though it is doubtful if the tribute was regularly or willingly paid or if the right to payment was always admitted.

The Sugāon or Kāmeśvara dynasty known for its patronage of Sanskrit learning.

The Kāmeśvara dynasty encouraged Sanskṛt literature a great deal. The four most prominent writers during the rule of this dynasty are Jagaddhara, Vidyāpati, Śaṅkara and Vācaspati Misra. Jagaddhara commented not only on works so widely varied as the religious Gitā and Devi Mahātmya, the lyrical Megha-[redacted] and Gīta-govinda, the dramatic Mālati-Mādhava and [redacted]se romance Vasava-datta and the [redacted]bharaṇa, but he wrote original [redacted]sika-sarvvasva) and on music (the Saṃg[redacted] Vidyāpati's name has come down to posterity in [redacted]tion with Maithili songs, such as the Kīrti-latā, the Kīrti-patāka and specially his Padāvali (i.e. anthropology) songs that stirred up the later Vaiṣṇava writers and preachers of Bengal. But he wrote also on Smṛti (Bibhāgasāra, Gaṅga-vākyāvali and Dāna-

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[1] A full account of this invasion is given in Ranking's Translation of Badāoni, Vol. I, pp. 415-17 (1898), and also in Makhzan-i-Afghani, translated by Dorn, 1829, Part I, p. 59, and Part II, p. 96, an[redacted]in the 'Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi,' Thomas, p. 391.

[2] This dynasty is popularly [redacted]as the "Oinwāra" family, as the first founder of this family was Oin[redacted]whom popular tradition calls the great-[redacted]dfather of Kāmeśvara Th[redacted] who is said to have established his [redacted]ality with the help o[redacted]a's descendants at village Oini in the [redacted]nga district.

[redacted]mily in Tirhut ca[redacted] be identified as lineally descended from

vākyavali), on Nīti or moral tales (Bhu-parikramana and Puruṣa-parikṣā), on Pujā (Saiva sarvvasva-sāra and Durga-bhakti taraṅgini), and on literary compositions (Likhanāvali).

An explanation why Sanskrit learning flourished in Tirhut.

The fact, generally speaking, was that Tirhut being comparatively free from foreign invasion, was able to give protection to a large number of scholars from adjoining countries, such as Oudh, Bihar and Bengal, which were being ravaged by invaders. This cultivation of Sanskrt scholarship in the 13th century A.D. in Tirhut had a marked effect on Bengal as people used to come in large numbers to Mithilā to learn the Śāstrās.

Prince Indra Sena

It may be incidentally mentioned here that it is thought that prince Indra Sena[1], writer of "Śāli-hotra-sāra-saṁgraha" and whose viruda was Rupanārāyaṇa belonged to this family. But it is not exactly known when he lived and what link he formed in the (Kāmeśwara) line.

Rājā Pṛthvi Simha's rule in Champaran.

It is not clearly known if any local family took the place of the ruling Kāmeśwara dynasty in Mithilā on its dismemberment or whether this dynasty ruled all over Mithilā. It appears, however, that one [redacted] Prthvi Siṁha Deva reigned in C[redacted] 1492 (=1434-5 A.D.). His succe[redacted] was followed by his son Mada[redacted]

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1 Cf. p. 19 of Bendall's History of Nep[redacted] the surrounding kingdoms, also p. 265, Catalogue of palm-leaf Sanskrit manuscripts in the Nepal Darbar Library by H. P. Sāstri, 1905 The final colophon of the "Sāli-hotra-Sāra-samgraha" is:—

•इति श्रीरूपनारायण इत्यादि महाराजाधिराज श्रीइन्द्रसेन कृतौ सारसंग्रह शालि होत्र समाप्तः । शुभम् । श्री शाके १७२४, श्री सम्वत् १८४१ आषाढ कृष्ण पञ्चस्य सप्तम्याम् भौम् वासरे ।

2 Cf. "Devimahātmyam, which was copied in the reign of Pṛthvi Siṁha in Vikrama Samvat 1492 (= 1434–5 A.D) at Champakāranya nagaram, p. 61 (S.) Manuscript No 1508, of the Catalogue of palm-leaf Samskrit manuscripts in the Nepal Darbar Library, by H. P. Sāstri, 1905.

देवी माहात्म्यम् नागराक्षरम् सम्वत् १४९२ [redacted] भाद्र सुदि महाराज पृथ्वी सिंहदेवभुज्यमान राज्ये चम्पकारण्य नगरे । शुभमस्तु ।

3 Cf Amara Kosa in Bengali cha[redacted] 51, the Catalogue of palm[redacted]af Sanskrit manuscripts in the Nepal Da[redacted]y, by H. P. Sāstri, 190[redacted]d particularly the colophon :—

शि सम्वत् १५११ श्रावण शुक्ल नवम्यां शाके [redacted] नगरे शिवराज [redacted]

Champaran and Go[redacted]d it is certain that Madan Siṁha was reigning abo[redacted]1454 if not much later and wrote a work called [redacted]tna-pradipa,[1] but it is not known to what family [redacted]d or how they came to gain possession of their [redacted] far, if at all, they were dependent on superioı ru[redacted]Hindu or Muhammadan. It is probable that the[redacted]Chief-tains who ruled over Champaran and Go[redacted]ich borders on Champaran, but it cannot be said [redacted] thing, they had to do with the Kameśwara famil[redacted] older ruling family of Nānya Deva. It may also be [redacted] tioned that the Aśoka pillar at Lau[redacted] ānandangarha in Champaran contains an inscription dated Vikram Samvat 1556 (=1500 A.D.) which says, "Nrpa-Nārayaṇa suta Nrpa Amara Siṁha.' It is not known who this Nārāyaṇa and Amara Simha were and how they were connected with the other ruling families. It is safe then only to assume that they were local Chieftains ruling in different parts of the country and there may have been other Chieftains (not yet known to us) like them.

Local Chieftains

Ge...gical table of the Kāmeśwara dynasty (based Pañjis). Cf. the Indian Antiquary, Vol. 14, ...6, also the "Chronology of India" by C. M. ...:—

Adhirupa Thakkura
|
Viśwesvara Thakkura
|
Govinda Thakkura
|
Lakṣmana Thakkura
|
Rāja Kameśwara Thakkura

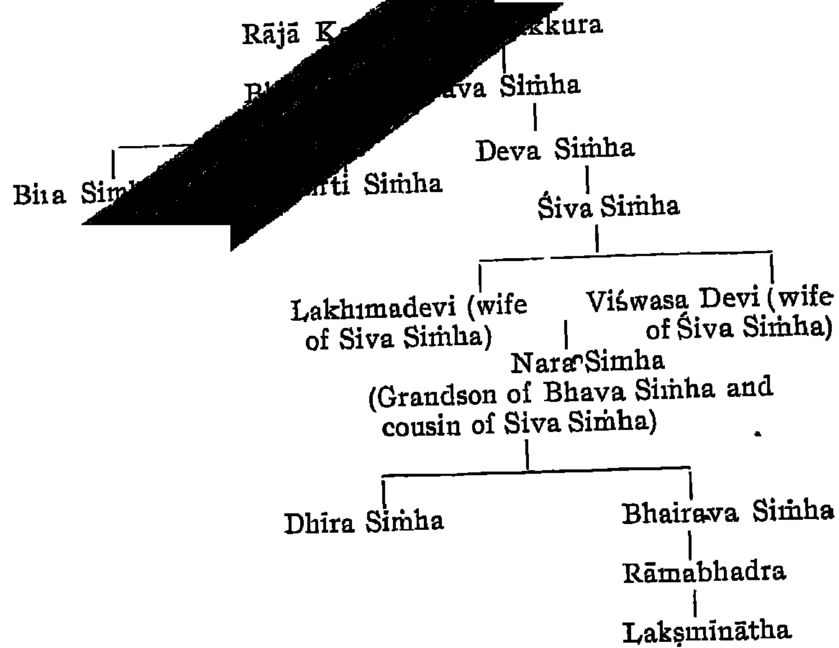
...राज्ये विराजमान महाराजाधिराज श्रीमन्मदनसिंहदेवानाम् समुज्यमान ... श्री गङ्गया........लिखितम्—इति ।

...hon of Nara Simha Purāna on p. 29 of the same catalogue

...गा सुदि षष्ठ्याम् रवि वासर महाराजाधिराज श्रीमन्मदनसिंह देवानाम् गोरक्षपुरे सिपाह कटके सदुपाध्याय श्रीरुद्रनाथ शर्मभिः नारसिंहाख्य मद:

...the Catalogue (which quotes the colophon) :—

...सिंहात्मज महाराजाधिराज मदन सिंहदेव विरचिते मदनरत्नप्रदीपे ....सम्वत् ८४८ (नेवार)


Rājā K[redacted]kura
B[redacted]va Siṁha
Deva Siṁha
Bira Si[redacted]rti Siṁha
Śiva Siṁha
Lakhımadevi (wife of Siva Siṁha)
Viśwasa Devi (wife of Śiva Siṁha)
Nara Simha
(Grandson of Bhava Siṁha and cousin of Siva Siṁha)
Dhīra Siṁha
Bhairava Siṁha
Rāmabhadra
Lakṣmīnātha

PART IV.

TIRHUT UNDER MUHAMMADAN AND BRITISH RULE FROM THE 13TH TO THE 19TH CENTURY A.D

CHAPTER I.

MUSLIM INFLUENCE IN TIRHUT FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE 13TH TO THE END OF THE 16TH CENTURY.

Sultan Ghiyasuddin's invasion of Tirhut, 1322 A.D.

Muslim historians tell us that Sultan Ghiyasuddin Toghlak, Emperor of Delhi, invaded Tirhut about 1322 A.D. and established the supremacy of the Muslim rule over the whole country. Tirhut henceforth became a dependency of Delhi. He and his successnealEmperor Firoz Shah Toghlak, placed the whole on Mithilā under Kāmeśvara Thakkura who became the pp. 187, 19he Thakkura dynasty which ruled over Tirhut Duff, p. 305… centuries till the middle of the 16th century.[1] …rs later, Firoz Shah marched on Bengal to [redacted] …to have been founded by the then Bengal …yas Shah). So the Sultan marched up the …osa, and below Champaran, where the river …rdable, crossed it by a living bridge of … via Champaran and Racap he moved on …a.[2]

…Barni[3] Firoz Shah left Delhi on 10th

…-i-Firoz Shāhi, Elliot, Vol. III, pp. 234-5, also cf. Account …of Kāmeśvara, Chap. X.

…Shahi, by Shams-i-Siraj-Afif-Elliot, Vol. III, pp. (293-4).

…Cf. p. … pp. 292–294. Also cf. pp. 91–105 of Riyazu-s-Salatin trans-…Calcutta, 1902 edition, and also pp 448–51 of the History …madan Power in India till the year 1612 A.D. translated … Calcutta, 1908 edition, Vol. I.

Barni's account of Firoz Shah Toghlak's invasion, 1354 A D

Shawwal 754 H. (8th November, 1353 A.D.) and returned to it on 12th Sha'ban 755 H (1st September, A.D. 1355) The march through Tirhut took place therefore in the winter of 1354-5 A.D. In the winter, the rivers would have fallen low and would therefore be favourable to the crossing of cavalry and elephants. Barni's Kharosa lying between Gorakhpur and Tirhut is probably to be identified with Champaran (Sansk. Champak-aranya).

Babar's reference to Tirhut, 1526 A D

After this Tirhut continued to be under the overlordship of Delhi. On the defeat and death of Ibrahim Lodi, son of Sikandar Lodi, at the battle of Panipat in H. 932 or 1526 A.D., Babar became the Emperor of Delhi He has left in his Memoirs a list of countries subject to him and their approximate revenues. In this list appears Rājā (No. 22 or 23) Rūp-Nārāyaṇa (of Tirhut) who paid a tribute of Rs. 2,50,000 silver tankas and 27,50,000 black tankas or at 10 per silver tanka 2,75,000, in all 5,25,000 silver tankas. It would thus appear that Tirhut remained under the Hindu Rājā in his time subject to the payment of Khidmatana or Tribute.[1]

Tirhut a fief of Mullik Bir Afghan, 1378 A.D.

It appears that in the [illegible] 778 (1398 A.D.) the fief of B[illegible]

[illegible]

to Khwaja Jahan by Sultan Muhammad Shah, 1396 A D.

[illegible] of Bihar and Tirhut ab[illegible] 796 H. (1396 A.D.) to Kh[illegible]

Babar's reference to Zipa-ran (Champaran).

It appears that sometimes Tirhut has be[illegible] separately from Bihar a[illegible] only Bihar has been men[illegible] bar mentions that the c[illegible] Baharā to Bihar were in his possession a[illegible] nue of 52 crors. He has mentioned the [illegible]

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[1] Cf. pp. 430-31 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society [illegible] November and December, 1915, also Erskine's Baber and H[illegible] and Thomas's Pathan Kings, p 390, and Elliot, Vol IV, p [illegible]

[2] Tarikh-i-Mubarak-Shahi of Yahya Bin Ahmad, Elliot[illegible]

[3] Tarikh-i-Mubarak-Shāhi [illegible]

Bihar separately from that of Ziparan which is now taken to mean Champaran.[1]

Khwaja-i-Jahan, Governor of Bihar, 1396 A.D.

Al-Badaoni says that Sultan Muhammad Shah in the year 796 H. (1396 A.D.) appointed Khwaja-i-Jahan, Governor of Bihar. He proceeded as far as Jainagar and took possession of it, acquiring a large number of elephants and much valuable property, and from that time the king of Lakhnauti began to send elephants annually as present to Delhi.

Hajipur founded by Sultan Haji Illyas

Al-Badaoni says that Haji Illyas was the ruler of Lakhnauti and a contemporary of Sultan Muhammad and Sultan Firoz Shah Toghlak and assumed the title of Sultan Sams-ud-din. He used to send presents now and then to the Delhi Emperor but was virtually independent.[2]

Importance of Hajipur in Tirhut

He also rebuilt the greater number of the forts which the infidels (i.e. non-Muslims or Hindus) had destroyed in Tirhut.[3] It is probable that the Muslims definitely occupied the southern portion of Tirhut though authentic history is wanting. Hajipur was a most important place in Tirhut during the Muhammadan period. The town was founded by Haji Illyas. He built a strong fortress there and rebelled against the Emperor Shah Toghlak. Firoz Shah came upon Tirhut about the year 1353 and compelled Haji Illyas to retreat to Pandua.[4]

Tirhut occupied by kings of Jaunpur towards the end of 15th century

It appears that towards the end of the 14th century, the kings of Jaunpur came over and occupied Bihar and Tirhut for about a century.[5] But towards the end of the 15th century, Sultan Sikandar ibn-i-Sultan Bahlol Lodi, Emperor of Delhi, advanced upon Bihar and Bengal, defeated Husain Shah Sharqi near Patna and occupied Bihar, Tirhut and Saran. There-

1 Cf. Tuzak-i-Bābari, Elliot's Vol. IV, p. 262.

2 Cf. pp. 309, 324, 317 of Al Badaoni, Vol. I

3 Muntakhabu-t-Tawarikh by Al-Badaoni, Vol. I, pp. 348–49 (1898 edition).

4 Cf. pp. 98–103 of Riyaz-us-Salatin translated by M. Abdus Salam, Calcutta, 1902 edition.

5 Cf. p. 114, do. Also J. Thomas' Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, 365.

upon Sikandār Lodi swept over Tirhut and exacted a heavy fine from the Rājā of Tirhut. It was either Rāmabhadra or Roopa Nārāyaṇa who is said to have ruled over Tirhut in 1495 when the Gaṅgā Kṛtya-viveka was composed.[1] But it will appear that after about 30 years, Nasrat Shah (son of Ala-uddin-Husain Shah, king of Bengal, came down upon Tirhut, put the Rājā of Tirhut (Raja Kansanārāyaṇa[2] or his successor) to death and appointed Allauddin its governor and extended his kingdom across the river Gogrā into the district of Azamgarh in the United Provinces. His son-in-law Makhdum Alam was put in charge of the fortress at Hajipur. About the year 1540, Makhdum Alam revolted against Mahmud Shah, son of Nasrat Shah,[3] and joined hands with the Pathan adventurer, Sher Shah of Sasram, in the district of Shahabad who aspired to the throne of Delhi.[4]

Raja of Champaran subdued by Mia Hussain Farmulli, 1489 1517 A D

In the Persian book Wakiat-i-Mushtaki by Sheikh Rajkula Mustaki, there is an account of a portion of Tirhut (Champaran) in the reign of Sikandar Lodi (1489-1517) It will appear that Mian Husain Farmuli was jagirdar of Saran and Champaran, which were called *jalkhet* or the field of water, and he had taken no less than 20,000 villages from the infidels, besides those comprising his *jagir*. When he marched to attack the Rājā of Champaran, he found his advance checked by a flood of the Gaṇḍak and was obliged to encamp on its banks, while the Rājā remained secure in this fort on the other side of the river. One of his nobles, Mughula Kirani, however, was not daunted by this obstacle, though he was told that the breadth of the river was 7 *kośa*. (14 miles). Having taken a vow to abstain from food and

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1 Cf. Muntakhabut-t-Tawarikh of Al-Badaoni, translated by Ranking, 1895, Vol. I, pp. 415–17.

Also Tarikh-i Khan-Jahan-Lodi by Niamattullah—Elliot, pp 95–6, Vol. V, 1873.

Also Makhzan i-Afghani, translated by Dorn 1829, Part I, p. 59, and Part II, p. 96.

For Gaṅgā Kṛtya Viveka cf footnote p

2 Cf. footnote p.

3 Cf. pp. 133–46 of the Riyaz-us-Salatin, by Ghulam Hussain Salim translated by Abdus Salam, Calcutta edition, 1902, also the Sikandarpur-Azamgarh inscription, Journal, Asiatic Society, 1973, page 296.

4 Cf. pp 537, 553, 555, 560, 572 of the 'History of the Rise of the Mohammadan Power in India till the year 1612 A D,' translated from Ferishta by J. Briggs, Calcutta, 1908 edition, Vol. I.

drink until he had attacked the Rājā, he mounted his horse and plunged into the river Stimulated by this example, Mian Husain and the whole army began to cross the Gandak, and at sunset dashed upon the Rājā who had been lulled into security by the thought that he was protected from attack by the flooded state of the Gandak "Suddenly," it is said, "an uproar rose in the city, for it was reported from the watch-tower that the Afghans had arrived; but the infidel did not credit it and was engaged in his pastimes, when the Afghans were upon him and forced him to fly for his life. By the will of God that day Mughula Kirani became a martyr. Mian Husain greatly lamented his loss, and said, 'Would to God that to-day there had been no victory, for that and the plunder combined are no compensation for the loss sustained in the death of Mughula' Thus after a duration of 200 years, destruction fell upon the kingdom of the Rājā and all the riches and treasures which were amassed during that period were dispersed in plunder. The shoes of the infidels who lost their lives in this action were collected, and when melted down, no less than 20,000 mohurs of gold were obtained from them."

Sher Shah of Sasram helped by the ruler of Hajipur.

It appears that Hajipur was a strong position even in Babar's time (i e. Sikandar Lodi's time). Sher Khan (later Sultan Sher Shah, on his flight from Babar's court, came to his zamindari in Sasaram and entered into a compact of friendship with Makdum Alam of Hajipur. Sher Shah defeated the enemies of this Makdum Alam who was afterwards very useful to him in his campaign against the Moghals [1]

Hajipur captured in the year 1543 under the orders of Emperor Humayun.

Later on, the emperor Humayun ordered Mirza Hindal to cross the river Ganges with his forces to capture Hajipur which was one of the main strong-holds of Sher Khan. This was about the year 943 H. (1547 A.D.).[2]

After Muhammad Shah, the Delhi Crown appointed several governors from time to time to rule over Tirhut.

[1] Page 469-70 of Ranking's Translation of Al-Badaoni, Vol. I (1898 edition).
[2] Do. do do do.

Several Pathan families had settled down in Tirhut and when Daud Khan, the Pathan, rose and revolted against the Delhi Emperor about the year 1575, these Pathans swelled his forces. Khankhana was deputed by Emperor Akbar to crush Daud Khan and he requested all Moghal and Pathan Chiefs to assist him.[1] It is said that the great emperor watched the fight at Hajipur personally from the southern bank of the Ganges at Patna. It was a hard struggle but victory sided with Akbar.

The flight at Hajipur in Emperor Akbar's time, 1575 A.D

In 982 H. (1582 A.D.) after the death of Sulaiman Afghan Karani, the ruler of Bengal, his son Bayazid succeeded him for a time, but he soon became unpopular and was murdered. Daud, the younger son of Sulaiman, then assumed the title of king but omitted to secure royal assent to his accession. The emperor Akbar who heard of Sulaiman's death and Daud's accession to power before he was assured of his loyalty, deputed Khan Khana Muhim Khan. The Khan Khana levied a large army, but having obtained two lacs of rupees and other goods and precious things as tribute from Daud, who was then at Hajipur, settled the matter peaceably and returned. Daud had superiority over the Moghals in numbers but he failed to strike the first blow and after concluding this mirage of peace, he established himself in the fort of Patna. But he began to oppress his subjects and soon lost the confidence of his followers. Having heard of this good opportunity, Khan Khana informed Akbar, who appointed Mirza Yusuf Khan to the command of the army and sent him forward by land, and himself set off from Agra by the river Ganges.[2]

The Emperor encamped near Patna and despatched

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[1] Cf. Riyazu s-Salatin by M Abdul Salam, Calcutta, 1902 edition, p. 122, which shows that the Imperial forces from Bihar, Tirhut and Hajipur were deputed to crush Daud.

Also cf. pp. 245–253 of 'The History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Powers in India till the year 1612 A.D.' translated from Ferishta by J. Briggs, Calcutta, 1908 edition, Vol. I.

[2] Cf. Lowe's translation of Al-Badaoni, Vol. II, 1884 edition, pp. 176–78;

"The horse of your fortune was under your thigh,
If you did not make haste, what could one do!
The dice of life were to your wishes,
But you played badly, what could one do!"

3,000 fully equipped horsemen in charge of Khan-i-Azam in boats across the Ganges for taking the fortress of Hajipur from which place aid used to come to the men of Patna. Raja Kachiti[1] was appointed to go to the assistance of Khan-i-Azam with a large army. Thus they surrounded Hajipur both by land and by water. The Emperor stationed himself on a high eminence by the waterside to view the battle. On the other side, Fatch Khan Barha with a strong body of Afghans was maintaining an obstinate resistance. But he fell, and the fortress was taken by assault. The heads of the chiefs, together with the heads of others, were put into a boat and sent to the Emperor, who sent them to Daud in the fort at Patna so that they might prove to him a warning and scare.[2] Daud fled from Patna in desperation and was afterwards chased beyond Gauḍa and destroyed. But soon after this, Gajapati, a zamindar of the neighbourhood of Hajipur and Patna, who had been subjugated, rebelled, and the Emperor started to take the field against him in person and eventually subdued him.[3]

The Emperor appointed Khan-i-A'zam as Governor of Bengal[4] and Tirhut. Shahbaz Khan was appointed with a well-equipped army to assist Khan-i-A'zam, with orders that he should proceed to the confines of Hajipur and traversing the jungle of Kachiti (Gajapati ?) should compel Arab Bahadur to come out of that place.[5]

Hajipur as a military base.

It will appear that Hajipur was the base for all the Imperial operations in Bengal and Orissa and even for some time in the Western Provinces and Akbar had special regard for this place.[6]

Hajipur conferred as a jagir on A'zam Khan who embraced Akbar's new religion.

Towards the close of Akbar's reign A'zam Khan returned from Makkah, and joined the new faith inaugurated by Akbar, performing the *sijdah*, and following all other rules of discipleship. He cut off

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1 Tabaqat-i-Akbari (Elliot, V, 377) has Gajpati.
2 Cf. Lowe's translation of Al-Badaoni, Vol. II, pp. 182-83.
3 Cf. Lowe's translation of Al-Badaoni, Vol. II, 1884 edition, pp. 244-45.
4 Cf. Elliot, V, p. 410, *note*
5 Cf. page 293 of Lowe's translation of Al Badaoni, Vol. II
6 Reference may be had to pp 290, 320, 344, 353, etc., of Lowe's translation of Al-Badaoni, Vol. II, 1884 edition

his beard and learnt the rules of the new faith from His Reverence 'Allami, and received Ghazipur and Hajipur as jagir.[1]

Fresh rebellion at Hajipur suppressed by Todar Mall

Hajipur again figured in the rebellion of Kak Shah jagirdar of Bihar and Bengal, and Todar Mall was sent to suppress the rebellion.[2]

It is related that Muzaffar Khan, whose deputy at Hajipur, Mir Saukiti, was killed by some rebels, again put Hajipur in order, and dispersed the rebels with the aid of Raja Udikarana, the zamindar of Champaran.[3]

Tirhut with the rest of Bihar enjoyed peace under the Moghal rule. Several jagirs were conferred upon Pathans and other loyal families in Tirhut who, up to this day, are in enjoyment of these jagirs.

In the Hijri year 996 (1560 A.D.) Manasinha was appointed to the government of Bihar, Hajipur and Patna.[4]

Todar Mall at Hajipur

Towards the close of his reign, the Emperor Akbar appointed Mulla Taib of Kaithal Dewan of the Province of Bihar and Hajipur. It also appears that Raja Todar Mall and other Imperial nobles passed the rainy season one year towards the close of Akbar's reign at Hajipur.[5]

Bahadur Shah's meteoric career as a ruler of Tirhut.

At the time that the Emperor went to Kabul (about 1600 A.D.) towards the close of his reign to set matters right there, Bahadur, son of Badakhshi had the *Khutbah* read, and coins struck, in his name in the district of Tirhut, and took the title of Bahādur Shah.[*] It is said that the following rhyme was composed for his signet :—

" Bahadur-ud-din Sultan
Son of Asfid Shah Sultan.
His father was Sultan, and himself Sultan,
Bravo! Sultan bin Sultan "

The Ain-i-Akbari says, " In the Sirkar of Hajipur the fruits Katahal and Barahal grow in abundance." The former attain such a size that a man can with difficulty carry one " (Ain-i-Akbari, translated by Jarrett, p. 152, Vol III, Bibliotheca Indica edition, 1910.

1 Cf. p 412 of Lowe's translation of Al Badaoni, Vol. II

2 Tabakat-i-Akbari of Nizamu-d Din-Ahmad, Elliot, Vol. V, p. 417.

3 Pp 39 and 49 of Akbar-Nama of Abul Fazl, Elliot, Vol. VII, 1875 edition.

4 P. 375 of Lowe's translation of Al-Badaoni, Vol. II, 1884 edition.

5 Pp. 274 and 297 of do. do.

Eventually he was slain by the servants of A'zam Khan :—

"A base person, when dignity, and gold, and silver come to him
Requires of necessity a slap on the head
Have you not heard what Plato said,
It is best for the ant that its wings should not grow."[1]

Tirhut in Ain-i-Akbar.

The Ain-i-Akbari (written about 1590 A.D.) during Emperor Akbar's lifetime, gives an attractive account of Tirhut, its curd, its buffalo and its fruits and says that rent was paid in cash and not by division of crops.

CHAPTER II.

MUHAMMADAN RULE IN TIRHUT DURING THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES A.D.

There is no succinct history of Tirhut during the 16th and 17th centuries. During these centuries, Tirhut consisted of three main divisions, i.e. Hajipur, Champaran and Tirhut. The Ain-i-Akbari (written about 1590 A.D.) gives the following figures[2] :—

Name of Sircars.	Number of Mahals included in Sircar.	Area in Bighas[3]	Revenue in rupees.
Champaram	3	85,711	1,37,835
Hajipur	11	436,953	6,83,276
Tirhut	74	266,464	4,79,494

[1] Pp. 307 of Lowe's translation of Al-Badaoni, Vol. II, 1884 edition.

[2] Cf. pp. 43, 88, 149 to 156 of Vol. II of Ain-i-Akbari, translated by Jarrett, Calcutta edition, Bibliotheca Indica, 1910; also cf. p. 1 of "India of Aurangzib," by J. N. Sirkar, Calcutta edition, 1901.

[3] A bigha was equal to ·538 of an acre—Cf. paras. 79 also and 84, pp. 19 and 30 of the Muzaffarpur Settlement Report by Mr. C. J. Stevenson Moore, 1901.

The Ain-i-Akbari tells us that the assessment was made under the supervision of Todarmall, Akbar's Prime Minister in the year 1582 after actual measurement and that Government revenue was fixed at ⅓ of the produce The duties[1] of the Revenue Collectors were carefully defined

During Akbar's time (1556–1605 A.D) as depicted in Ain-i-Akbari, separate sircars of Tirhut, Champaran, etc , and Bihar (on the southern side of the Ganges) are mentioned.[2]

Though we know that, for purely revenue adjustments, Tirhut used to be mentioned separately not only from Bihar but separately even from Hajipur and Champaran,[3] it seems that Tirhut was not governed separately from Patna and Bihar after Emperor Jahangir's time (1605–1627 A.D.). There is no mention of revenue of Tirhut separately from that of Bihar in the time of Shah Jahan[4]

Tirhut in Aurangzeb's time

Mir-at-i 'Alam, writing about the time of Aurangzeb (1660–1707 A.D.) says that Bihar included 252 mahals and makes it clear that for all broad purposes, Tirhut formed part of Bihar.[5]

Todarmall's assessment was revised during Emperor

1 "The Collector of Revenue," says the Ain, "should be a friend of the agriculturist Zeal and truthfulness should be his rule of conduct. He should consider himself the representative of the lord-paramount, and establish himself where every one may have easy access to him without the intervention of a mediator. He should deal with the contumacious and the dishonest by admonition, and if this avail not, proceed to chastisement, nor should he be in apprehension of the land falling waste. He should assist the needy husbandman with advances of money, and recover them gradually (system of agricultural loans)

"The agricultural value of land varies in different districts, and certain soils are adapted to certain crops. He should deal differently, therefore, with each agriculturist and take his case into consideration. Let him increase the facilities of the husbandman year by year, and under the pledge of his engagement take nothing beyond the actual area under tillage Let him not make it a practice of taking only in cash payments, but also in kind. He should be just and provident in his measurement"

"The Collector should see that no capitation tax be imposed nor interfere with the remission of dues granted by former governments. He shall refrain from accepting presents. He shall also waive all perquisites on handicrafts, market, police, travelling passports, garden produce, temporary sheds, enclosures, fishing rights, post dues, butter, oil of sesame, blanketing, and wool" Cf. pp. 43–5 of Ain-i-Akbari.

2 Cf. India of Auranzeb by J. N. Sirkar (1901 edn.), p. 50.

3 Cf. Do p. li

4 Cf. Majalisu-s-Salatin of Muhammad Sharif Hanafi, Elliot, Vol. VII, pp. 137-38.

5 Cf. Elliot, Vol. VII, 1877 edn., p. 64.

Aurangzeb's reign in the year 1685[1] We learn that the following increase in the revenue took place :—

		From	To
		Rs.	Rs.
Champaran	..	1,37,835	2,10,151
Hajipur	..	6,83,276	10,29,309
Tirhut[2]	..	4,79,494	7,69,287

Thereafter we have on the authority of Chahar-Gulsan that in the year (1720) the revenues[3] of the three Sircars were as noted below against their names :—

Names of Sircars.			*Revenue.*
Champaran	..	..	2,40,603
Hajipur	..	..	11,33,185
Tirhut	..	..	7,37,080

Khulasatu-t-Tawarikh written in the 17th century has much praise for Tirhut.

Account of Tirhut-Khulasatu-t-Tawarikh.

"Tirhut has long been a seat of learning and a centre of Hindu culture. Its climate is excellent. The curd of this place remains unchanged and pleasant to the taste for one month. If any milkman adulterates his milk with water, some calamity from the invisible world visits him. Its buffaloes are so strong that the tiger can not hunt them In the rainy season, owing to excess of water, the deer, the elk, and the tiger come down together to inhabited places, and men have the pleasure of hunting.

"In the district of Champaran, they sow the seed of the vetch *mash* without ploughing the soil, and it grows without the labour of cultivation. The long pepper grows abundantly in its jungle."[4]

It appears from all accounts that Tirhut together with the rest of Bihar formed part of Bengal in the 18th

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1 Para. 89, p. 22 of the Champaran Settlement Report, 1900, and para. 91, p. 31 of the Muzaffarpur Settlement Report, 1901, by C J. Stevenson Moore

2 Number of Mahals increased from 74 to 102 Cf para 91, p 31 of the Muzaffarpur Settlement Report, 1901, by C J. Stevenson Moore

3 P 1 of "India of Aurungzeb," by J. N. Sircar, 1901 edition.

Also cf p 134 of the Chahar Gulsan, by Ray Chatar Chand Kayastha, written in the year 1173 H (1759 A.D) in the same book.

4 Cf. p 37 of India of Aurangzeb, by J. N. Sircar (1902).

This account seems to be borrowed from the Ain-i-Akbari, cf the Ain-i-Akbari, translated by Jarret, Vol. III, p. 152, Bibliotheca Indica edition, 1910.

century and was ruled (in allegiance to the Delhi Emperor) by the Nawabs of Murshidabad who used to have a Deputy Governor at Patna.[1]

A revision of Tirhut along with the rest of the Province took place about the year 1750 when Alivardi Khan was the ruler of Tirhut along with the rest of Bengal and Bihar. By this settlement the assessment in Tirhut with 93 parganas was increased to Rs. 8,20,042 and that of Hajipur was reduced to Rs. 8,28,120. In Champaran the revised assessment[2] was Rs. 2,06,822. It will thus appear on the whole that there was some decrease in the assessment.

It may be interesting to note here that Ali Vardi Khan had been to Bettiah to quell the rebellious Rājā in the year 1730. While at Patna as Governor of Bihar under Suja-uddin the Nawab of Murshidabad, he heard an unsatisfactory report regarding this part of the country. It was infested by a band of robbers, called Banjaras, who, in the guise of peaceful traders and travellers, laid the country under contribution and plundered right and left. The zamindars of Bettiah and other places were also in a state of insurrection and had for some time set at defiance the authority of the Governor. In order to reduce these marauders and rebels, Ali Vardi Khan took into his service a body of Afghans under Abdul Karim Khan, who is described as the chief of the Afghans of Darbhanga, and first sent them against the Banjaras. The expedition was successful, the Banjaras were routed, made to disgorge their plunder, and driven out of the country. Then, according to the Riyazu-s-Salatin,[3] "Ali Vardi Khan, being aided by the Afghans, advanced with his forces against the tracts of the Rājās of Bettiah and Bhawarah, who were refractory and turbulent. Their region had never previously been trodden by the feet of the armies of former Nazims, nor had their proud heads ever bent before to any of the former Subadars. Indeed, they had never before paid the imperial revenues and taxes. After

[1] Para. 93, p. 33 of Muzaffarpur Settlement Report, by C. J. Stevenson Moore, 1901, and para. 90, p. 22 of the Champaran Settlement Report by C. J. Stevenson Moore, 1901 edition. [1902.

[2] Cf. Riyaz-us-Salatin, translated by Abdus Salam, pp. 296–7, Calcutta edition,

[3] Sair-ul-Mutakharim, Raymond's translation (reprinted, Calcutta, 1902), Vol. II, p. 58.

fighting with them incessantly, Ali Vardi Khan became victorious and triumphant. Raiding and pillaging their tracts, Ali Vardi Khan carried off a large booty, amounting to several lakhs in specie and other effects; and settling with the Rājās the amounts of tribute, presents and the imperial revenue, he raised an immense sum. The soldiery also were enriched by the booty; and the strength of Ali Vardi's administration increased.

The rebellious Afghans of Tirhut in Ali Vardi Khan's time. 1745 A.D.

About the disruption of the Moghal Empire, the Afghan Chiefs of Tirhut began to intrigue with the Mahrattas, who were invading Bengal and eventually sided with Mustaffar Khan, the rebellious General of Ali Vardi Khan in the year 1745. They, however, placed Jainuddin or Hiyabat, a son-in-law of Ali Vardi Khan as a Governor of Bihar. The Governor received them in a Darbar in Patna but towards the conclusion of the ceremony, the Afghan Chiefs mercilessly assassinated him. They sacked the city and its suburb, looted treasures, dishonoured, women and children, desolated villages, etc., etc. The Mahrattas joined and reinforced them. At last Ali Vardi Khan started at the head of a big army and defeated them near Barh. The Afghan ring-leaders were killed. Ali Vardi Khan captured their women but sent them to Darbhanga honourably and settled *jagirs* on them for maintenance. The Mahrattas were put to desperate flight.

Rājā of Bettiah subdued by Ali Vardi Khan, the Governor of Bengal and Bihar.

At Patna, Ali Vardi Khan received a message from the Rājā of Bettiah, saying that he had given shelter to the families of Shamsher Khan and Sardar Khan, Afghan leaders, and was ready to pay the Nawab 3 lakhs of rupees if he would agree not to demand their surrender. The Nawab refused to treat with him, insisted on the unconditional surrender of the families of the Afghan Chiefs, and advanced towards Bettiah to enforce his demands. The Rājā thereupon quietly gave up the wife and daughter of Shamsher Khan, who were treated with the utmost courtesy by Ali Vardi Khan.[1]

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[1] Jamiu-t-Tawarikh gives a description of Miran (near Hajipur), son of Mir Muhammad Jaffar Khan, who was set on the Bengal *Gaddi* by Lord Clive after the battle of Plassey (1170 A.H.=1757 A.D.).

British victory at Hajipur 1760 A.D. The Rājā of Bettiah subjugated by the British

In the year 1760 the Emperor Shah Alam who was incited to overthrow the growing influence of the British East India Company was engaged in the invasion of Bihar and Khadim Husain Khan, the Governor of Purnea, marched to join him with an army composed of 6,000 horse, 10,000 foot, and 40 pieces canon. Before, however, he could effect a junction with the Emperor, Captain Knox had marched to the relief of Patna and driven off the besieging force. He followed up this blow by defeating the Governor of Purnea at Hajipur, and Khadim Husain fled precipitately northwards towards Bettiah. Shortly after this, a force commanded by Major Caillaud, and Miran, the son of Mir Jafar Khan, who was placed on the seat of Governor of Bengal after the battle of Plassey in 1757 A.D., hurried up and set out in pursuit. In an action fought on the 25th June, the enemy were routed, leaving behind their guns, a large quantity of ammunition and stores, and all their heavy baggage. The rains had now set in, the Gaṇḍak was in flood, and Khadim Hussain Khan was unable to procure boats and cross it. He, therefore, fell back towards the hills, closely pressed by Caillaud and Miran; and here his army lost their way and were dispersed in the dense forest." At daybreak," it is said, "his people could not discover the morning star, and concluded that it must be hidden by the chain of mountains close to which they supposed themselves to be." Their position was, in fact, desperate, with a river in front, an enemy in their rear, and the soldiers dispirited and scattered; but fortunately for them, the plans of the invading force were completely altered by Miran being struck by lightning while sleeping in his tent near Bettiah.[1]

[1] Miran was preparing to attack Khadim Hussain Khan, nephew of Mir Muhammad Jaffar Khan, who was at that time raising disturbances on the other side of 'Azimabad' (Patna). Having conceived some suspicion of the two daughters of Mahabat Jang, he ordered them to be conveyed in a boat to the middle of the river, and to be there thrown overboard; in the meantime making the Begams believe that they were to go to Murshidadad. When Amina Begam and Ghasiti Begam were taken to the appointed place, they were informed of the cause of their being conveyed thither. The two sisters after bathing and putting on clean clothes cursed Miran, saying "O God, we have done no harm to Miran, who, having brought ruin on our family, and deprived our brothers of their rights, is now about to put us to death. We pray that he may soon be struck dead by lightning for his cruel deeds Their prayer was heard; for Miran, after arriving

Thereupon Caillaud, on whom the command of the allied forces now devolved, abandoned the campaign. He moved the army before the fort of Bettiah, received the submission of the Rājā, and then marched off to Patna [1]

In 1762 Mir Kasim Ali had to send an expedition against the Rājā of Bettiah. "The command of it," says the author of the Sairul-Mutakharin, "was given to Bahadur Ali Khan, who had been for a long time Grand-master of Artillery to Ali Vardi Khan and now enjoyed a small part of that office under Mir Kasim Khan. He had with him several commanders with their corps, together with some pieces of canon in the English fashion, and some regiments of Talingas, disciplined by Gurgan Khan. His orders were to take the fortress of that name, and to chastise the zamindar of that country, who had proved unruly." This expedition appears to have been completely successful, for we learn later from the same work that, as the fortress of Bettiah had been taken but recently and the country had been but lately brought under control, the Nawab availed himself of the pretence of establishing order in that region to set out on an expedition against Nepal.

Invasion of Nepal under General Gurgan Khan during Mir Kasim Ali's regime.

This expedition, it is said, was undertaken at the instigation of the Nawab's Armenian General, Gurgan Khan. "As the country of Nepal was known to produce gold, as well as to be full of riches, Gurgan Khan, who had as much ambition as covetousness in his composition, wished to undertake an expedition thither. But he had another object in view; he wanted also to make a trial of the troops which he had disciplined, and of the artillery which he had trained. With this view, he had long before commenced connec-

in the vicinity of Hajipur, attacked Khadim Husain Khan, and after defeating him pursued him; but during the pursuit, on Thursday night, the 19th Zi-l Ka'da in the year 1173 A.H. (4th July, 1760 A.D.) while it was raining, a thunderbolt descended and struck Miran and his servant dead. Cf. pages 428–29 of Jimui-t-Tawarikh of Fakir Muhammad, Elliot, Vol. VIII, 1877 edition.

But the Riyazu-s Salatin translated by Mr. Abdus Salam, Calcutta, 1902 edition, page 382, places the scene near Jahangirnagar (i.e. Dacca).

Also cf. Khulasat-t-Tawarikh of Mahārāja Kalyana Simha translated by Nawab Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, June 1919, pp. 218–235 especially p. 235.

1 Raymond's translation, Vol. II (1902), of Sair-ul-Mutakharin and Broome's History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army.

Ali Vardi Khan died in 1756 and was succeeded by his grandson Siraj-ud-daula who was weak and an inexperienced man of violent temper. The British community of Calcutta succeeded in overthrowing Siraj-ud-daula who had committed atrocities on them and made Mir Jaffar, a relative of Siraj-ud-daula, Nawab in 1757. Jaffar was however an old man of feeble disposition and was deposed by the British in the year 1760. He was succeeded by Mir Kasim.

The relations of the British with Mir Kasim were ruptured about the year 1763 when Mir Kasim aided by the titular emperor Shah Alam of Delhi and Shuja, Nawab Wazir of Oudh, threatened to storm the Company's possessions at Patna.

Delhi Emperor Shah Alam submits to British near Buxar and concludes the famous treaty of 1765 A.D.

The parties eventually faced each other near Buxar where a pitched battle was fought. It was a daring deed, for the British had less than 11,000 soldiers, whereas the forces of their adversaries numbered over 50,000. Victory sided with the British. The Emperor Shah Alam came over to the British camp and made over the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar (including Tirhut) and Orissa together with the districts of Benares and Gazipur, as imperial fief, to the British Company. The treaty was concluded on the 12th August, 1765 A.D. and the Company undertook to pay the Emperor Rs. 26 lacs a year in return for the Dewani.[1]

It has been usual to regard Clive's victory at Plassey as the decisive battle of British India. But it is evident that it was not comparable to the battle of Buxar. Plassey indeed may be almost said to have had no direct or immediate result beyond a palace revolution. It was Buxar which, coming after the dazzling successes of Adams, conferred upon the Company and its officers a legitimate status as servants and feudatories of the Moghul empire and virtual masters of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa by imperial Grant.[2]

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1 It may be noted, however, that Orissa remained for some time in the hands of the Mahrattas and came under the British power in the year 1803 A.D.

2 The text of the Farman granted by King Shah Alam to the English in 1765 is worth reading.

"At this happy time our royal Farman indispensably requiring obedience, is issued; that, whereas, in consideration of the attachment and services of the high

This conferment of the Diwani practically transferred all sovereign power to the Company, and this transference of power was required in the interests of the Indian people.[1]

The Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa handed over to the British.

Since the year 1765 the history of Tirhut has been confined to the establishment of order, the progress of settled Government, the growth of cultivation,[2] etc., etc.

A short campaign, however, was necessary before the authority of the British was acknowledged in Tirhut. Of this campaign the following account is taken from Broome's 'History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army' (1850):—

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and mighty, the noblest of exalted nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well wishers, worthy of our royal favours, the English Company, we have granted them the Dewani of the Provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, from of the beginning of the Fussel Rubby of the Bengal year 1182, as a free gift and ultumgan, without the association of any other person, and with an exemption of the payment of the customs of the Dewany, which used to be paid by the Court. It is requisite that the said Company engage to be security for the sum of 26 lakhs of rupees a year for our royal revenue, which sum has been appointed from the Nabab Nudjum-ul-Dowla Beheuder, and regularly remit the same to the royal Circar, and in this case, as the said Company are obliged to keep up a large Army for the Protection of the Provinces of Bengal, etc., we have granted to them whatsoever may remain out of the revenue of the said provinces, after remitting the sum of 26 lakhs of rupees to royal Circar, and providing for the expenses of the Nizamut It is requisite that our royal descendants. the viziers, the bestowers of dignity, the Omrahs high in rank, the great officers, the Muttaseddes of the Dewany, the Manager of the business of the Sultanut, the Jaghirdars and Croories, as well the future as the present using their constant endeavours for the establishment of this our royal command, leave the said office in possession of the said Company, from generation to generation for ever and ever. Looking upon them to be assured from dismissal or removal, they must, on no account whatsoever, give them any interruption, and they must regard them as excused and exempted from the payment of all the customs of the Dewany and royal demands. Knowing our orders on the subject to be most strict and positive, let them not deviate therefrom—written the 24th of Sophar, of the 6th year of the Jaloos, the 12th of August, 1765 (Aitchison's Treaties (India), p. 60).

[1] Keene's History of India, Vol. I, Chapters VI and VII (1906 edition).

[2] Though Champaran was included in Mithilā, it used to be mentioned separately from Tirhut and Hajipur, and never formed part of Saran in any Moghul records. But it appears from revenue records that either at (about 1790 A.D.) or before the Permanent Settlement, it formed part of the district of Saran with the headquarters at Chapra and was separated from it and formed into a district in the year 1866, with an area of 3531 sq. miles.

It was about the year 1781 when Tirhut received its first European Collector in Mr. Grand, that the Sircar of Hajipur was coalesced into the Sircar of Tirhut and then ceased to exist as a separate unit. The town of Hajipur lost some of its importance owing to the transference of its administrative importance to Muzaffarpur.

The district of Tirhut having an area of 6343 sq. miles and having grown beyond the administrative capacity of one Collector was split up, in 1874, into the two districts of Muzaffarpur with its head quarters at Muzaffarpur (a town founded in the 18th century by one Muzaffarkhan, an amil or farmer of Chakla

Sir Robert Barker's subjugation of Bettiah chiefs.

"In the beginning of 1766, Sir Robert Barker moved from Bankipore with a considerable detachment of his Brigade into the Bettiah country, to reduce a number of the refractory zamindars of that district, who, taking advantage of the troubles that had existed for the last two years, had shut themselves up in their strongholds and refused to pay any revenue, of which considerable arrears were now due. The judicious arrangements of Sir Robert Barker, and the efficient force at his disposal, led to a speedy and satisfactory adjustment of affairs in this quarter. Some little resistance appears to have been offered at first, but the inutility of such attempts being rendered very apparent, served to prevent any subsequent efforts of the same nature, and in a few months the whole country was brought into a state of complete subjection."

An account of the Bettiah jungles.

Sir Robert Barker, in a letter to the Select Committee, dated from Camp at Rampur, 6th March, 1766, gave a very favourable account of the resources of this district, with which even at the present time we are but scantily acquainted. He observes:—'Bettiah will, I think, be of considerable consequence to the Company. Its firs will afford masts for all the ships in India, which must produce a new and considerable trade with the other nations in India, as well as advantage to our own shipping. Gold and cinnamon are also here (the latter we gather in the jungles); timbers as large as any I have seen; musk and elephants' teeth; besides many other commodities I have not yet got the knowledge of.' The Select Committee reported these circumstances to the Court of Directors, stating that they looked upon it 'rather as an article of curious intelligence than mere prospects of advantage to the Company.' At the same time, they expressed their determination of pushing the discovery to the utmost advantage, if the advices received met with confirmation.

It appears that under the orders of the Court of Directors, a Board[1] of Revenue was established in

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Nai in pargana Bisara) and Darbhangah (Pp. 5 and 6 of the Muzaffarpur Settlement Report, 1901).

[1] Para. 98, page 34 of Final Report, on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the Muzaffarpur district, 1892 to 1899, Calcutta, 1901 edition.

Calcutta in the year 1772, and the revenue of Tirhut was settled for 5 years on the farming system. But in 1774, only two years later, this European Agency was replaced by native amils under the superintendence of six Provincial Councils, Tirhut being subordinate to that stationed at Patna. About the year 1777 the Board directed the collection of detailed information for the purposes of revenue settlement. Mr. Francis Grand,[1] to whom is attributed the foundation of indigo as European enterprise in Tirhut, was appointed the first Collector of Tirhut in 1782 and continued collecting detailed information and making settlements till 1787 when he was replaced by

[1] The following report, written by him in 1785, throws some light on the condition of the district. He wrote.—

"In 1782 I was transferred by Mr Hastings from Head Assistant to a commercial factory (in which the duties consisted of prizing cloths, seeing saltpetre weighed or loaded, attending to the accounts, etc.) to the Government of two considerable provinces involving the settlement or collection of revenues and maintenance of justice: the provinces were Tirhut and Hajipur. I took possession of a country yielding a revenue of above seven lakhs of rupees, but which had suffered from the depredations committed by those who were compelled to abandon the charge to me, and had besides been in revolt owing to the intrigues of the Raja of Benares, Chet Singh, whose baneful influence had spread so far, and would have spread further had he not been checked in time by Mr. Hastings' wise and spirited measures.

"I recovered a large balance due from the farmers to Government, quieted and appeased without bloodshed every disturbance, brought back the disobedient to a just sense of their errors, augmented the revenue, introduced the manufacturing of indigo after the European manner, encouraged the establishment of indigo works and plantations, erected three at my own expense, and thus possessed at that moment a fortune of £15,000 sterling, looked forward to a proportionate augmentation by continuing in my station and extending my manufactories, which with my houses, lands, furniture, tents, equipages, horses, boats, stood then upon a valuation of £10,000 more."

In 1787 Lord Cornwallis having been apprised that Mr. Grand was largely interested in local industries transferred him from Tirhut, and the news drew from him the following remarkable protests:—

"On the 26th August 1787 I was in full possession of my appointment and my fortune was in that progressive state as described in 1785. I was in the enjoyment of every comfort, elegance, and luxury of life. I was beloved and respected by those living with me, my assistants, Mr. David Vander Heyden (since M. P. for Westloe), Mr. Henry Colebrook (since Member, Supreme Council) together with Mr. Steel my Surgeon, and Mr. Purvis, my Private Secretary (since retired to England with a considerable fortune derived from the indigo manufactories), and I will say, because I challenge the contrary to be proved almost venerated by the natives of every description under my government, whose tears on hearing of my removal accompanied me even from the place of residence to the bank of the Ganges, where the limits of the district ceased, a distance of twenty-five miles.

"On the 27th August 1787, by one stroke of His Lordship's pen, was Mr. Robert Bathurst nominated Collector of Tirhut and Hajipur, and thus every hope and fair built prospect existing on the preceding day completely blasted. Thus the blow was struck, and from that day fell, perhaps never more to rise. View the portrait and feel" !!! (Cf. pages 35–36, paras. 100 and 101 of Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the Muzaffarpur district, 1892 to 1899, Calcutta, 1901 edition.

Mr Bathurst, who took up the enquiries. Between the years 1790 and 1793, the whole of Tirhut including Champaran had its revenue permanently fixed under the direction of Lord Cornwallis.[1]

Between the years 1840 and 1845, a first revenue Survey of Tirhut was made along with that of the rest of the country. It was followed by the River Survey between the years 1860 to 1862[2]

The Bettiah Estate and the Nepal Darbar

It may be mentioned here that the Bettiah estate used often to fight with the Nepalese administration and the British Government had to take action with the Nepal Government several times[3]

In the year 1840, the last cause of the disturbance was that the Nepalese entered the Ramnagar territory on the occasion of a large fair and proclaimed that the tract of land (8 miles wide and 30 miles broad) which had formerly belonged to Nepal but had been given to the Rāmnagar Rājā on the occasion of his marrying a Nepalese princess, had now on the death of the princess, been resumed by Nepal. Eventually the Nepalese had to withdraw from this region and the villages were made over to the rightful owners in the year 1842[4]

The results of the mutiny were felt on the border (between Tirhut and Nepal) at Sugauli where Major Holms was murdered by his men From there the mutineers proceeded via Siwan to Azam Gurh Though some treasuries were looted, precautions were taken throughout Tirhut on account of the mutiny and nothing serious happened anywhere. The Nepalese sepoys who were lent to keep order in these parts of the country, proved very useful during the mutiny

The main burden of preserving peace and order during

[1] Para 100, page 39 of the Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the Muzaffarpur district, 1892 to 1899 Calcutta, 1901 edition

[2] Para 260, page 95 of do do do

[3] For those interested in these settlements, the following works are recommended:—

(i) Prinsep's Political and Military Transactions in India, Vol I, 1825.
(ii) Oldfield's Sketches from Nepal, Vol I, 1880
(iii) Mutiny of the Bengal Army (1857-58)
(iv) Holmes' History of Indian Mutiny, 1891.

[4] Oldfield's Sketches from Nepal, 1880

the stormy days of the mutiny, fell upon the European Planters in Tirhut.

In the year 1858, Tirhut with the rest of India passed from the British East India Company to the British Crown.

The immense material and moral progress that Tirhut with the rest of India has seen under the British rule need hardly be dwelt upon here.

APPENDIX A.

Descriptive Accounts of Sanskṛt writers of Mithila.

Name of Author.	*Century to which the author belonged.*	*Part of the century.*
Abhinava Vācaspati Miśra ..	between 1450 & 1550 A.D.	
Acala Upādhyāya .	18th	
Arjuna Jhā	19th	In the beginning
Badrinātha Upādhyāya ..	19th	Latter-half.
Baguraya Jhā or Ratnapāṇi ..	19th	First half.
Bāna Kavi . ..	15th	Second-half.
Baidyanātha . ..	18th	
Bateśvara Jhā	*15th*	*In the middle.*
Benidatta Jhā	18th	
Bhagiratha or Megha Thakkura	16th	Second-half.
Bhānudatta or Bhānu Miśra	13th	Do.
Bhavadeva Miśra ..	17th	First-half.
Bhavanatha Miśra ..	15th	Do.
Bibhākara	19th	In the middle.
Bhiṣma Upādhyāya ..	18th	First-half.
Biśveśvara Miśra ..	17th	Second-half.
Caṇda Jhā	19th	Towards the close.
Candeśvara Thakkura ..	14th	First-half.
Candradatta Jhā	19th	Do.
Candradatta Upādhyāya ..	Time not yet settled	
Chatrakara Śukla ..	15th	In the middle.
Citradhara Upādhyāya ..	19th	
Dāmodara Misra ..	15th	About the middle.
Devanātha Thakkura ..	16th	
Dhanapati Upādhyāya ..	15th	Latter-half.
Dinabandhu alias Nemana Jhā	18th	In the middle.
Durgādatta Miśra ..	15th	
Durgādatta Śarma (Jhā) ..	19th	In the beginning.
Dvarkānātha Thakkura ..	19th	In the latter-half.
Gaṇapati	17th	
Ganeśvara Miśra	14th	First-half.
Gangadasa Jhā	Time not yet settled.	
Gangananda	17th	In the beginning.
Gangeśopādhyāya ..	12th	Fourth-quarter.
Giridhāri Upādhyāya .	Time not yet settled	
Gobardhanācāryya ..	12th	
Gobinda Thakkura ..	16th	
Gokulnātha Upādhyāya ..	19th	First half.
Graheśvara Miśra ..	14th	
Harapati Upādhyāya ..	15th	At the end.

Name of Author	*Century to which the author belonged*	*Part of the century*
Harihara	19th	Second-half.
Harihāropādhyāya ..	18th	
Harināthopādhyāya ..	14th	Second-half.
Harsanātha Upādhyāya ..	19th	Towards the close.
Hemāngada Thakkura ..	16th	
Hridayanāth Śarma ..	19th	
Indrapati Thakkura	15th	In the middle.
Jagaddhara .	15th	First-half.
Jayadeva Miśra	15th	Latter half.
Jivanātha Jhā	18th	
Jyotiriśvara Kavisekharācāryya	14th	First-half.
Kālidāsa	Time not yet settled	
Kedāranātha Śarma ..	19th	Second-half.
Kesava Miśra .. .	16th	Second quarter.
Khageśa Sarma	18th	Latter-half.
Krsna Śarma	19th	
Krsnadatta Upādhyāya ..	19th	In the beginning.
Laksmidhara Upādhyāya .	17th	Latter-half.
Laksmipati Upādhyāya ..	15th	First-half
Locana Kavi	17th	Second-half.
Macala Upādhyāya ..	18th	Do.
Madhusūdana	15th	First-half.
Madhusūdana Thakkura ..	1610 A.D. (i.e. towards the close of the 16th century)	
Maheśa Thakkura ..	16th	Second-half.
Mandana Miśra .. .	9th	First-half.
Miśaru Miśra . .	15th	About the middle.
Mukteśvara Jhā .. .	19th	Second-half.
Murāri Miśra	9th	In the beginning.
Murāri Miśra	15th	Third-quarter.
Murāri Miśra	16th	Second-quarter.
Narahari	Time not yet settled.	
Narahari Miśra	16th	In the beginning.
Narahari Upādhyāya ..	15th	In the middle.
Narapati Jhā	18th	Towards the close
Nilāmbara Jhā	19th	
Padmanābha Datta ..	14th	Second-half.
Padmanābha Miśra ..	17th	
Paraśurāma Jhā (Mahāmahopādhyāya)	17th	Second-half.
Pārthasārathi Miśra ..	Time not yet settled	
Pradyumna ..	16th	First-half.
Prajñakara	Time not yet settled.	
Premanidhi Thakkura ..	15th (1488 A.D.)	Towards the close.
Purusottama Deva ..	13th	Second-half.
Raghudeva Miśra (Sāraśvata)	17th	Do.
Raghudeva Jhā	13th	At the end.

Name of Author		*Century to which the author belonged*	*Part of the century.*
Rājaśekhara ..	..	14th	
Rāma Upādhyāya (Jha)	..	18th	Towards the close
Rāmabhadra Upādhyāya	..	16th	Do.
Rāmadāsa Jhā ..	..	17th	Do
Rāmadatta Thakkura	.	14th	Second half.
Ratnapāṇi ..	..	15th	Third-quarter
Ravi Thakkura ..	.	16th	In the beginning
Rucidatta Upādhyāya	..	15th	Fourth-quarter
Rucipati ..	.	15th	First-half.
Rudradhara Upādhyāya		15th	Fourth-quarter.
Sālikānatha Miśra	.	Time not yet settled	
Samkara Miśra ..	..	16th	Second-half
Samkara Miśra ..	..	15th	Do
Sarborutribedin	..	19th	
Simha Bhupāla	.	14th	
Sivāditya Miśra ..	..	11th	First-half.
Sridattopādhyāya		14th	At the beginning.
Sridatta Miśra ..	.	15th	First-half.
Srinivāsa Miśra ..	.	14th.	
Subhankara Thakkura	.	16th	At the end.
Sucarita Miśra	..	16th	First-half.
Sudhākara	..	16th	Beginning
Udayanācāryya	.	10th	Towards the close
Umāpati Upadhyāya	..	18th	First-quarter.
Vācaspati Miśra	..	9th	Second-quarter.
Varddhamānopādhyāya	..	1450 & 1550 A.D.	
Varddhamānopādhyāya	..	13th	
Vangamani	..	17th	First-half.
Vanśamani	..	17th	Beginning
Vasudeva Miśra	..	15th	Fourth-quarter.
Vidyākara Miśra	..	19th	
Vidyāpati Thakkura	..	15th	First-half.
Visṇudatta Jhā ..	..	18th	Latter-half.

ABHINAVA VACASPATI MISRA

A most distinguished writer on Smṛti. In the final colophon of the Sudra-ācāra-cintamani, he is called Maharājādhirāja Śrīmada-Harinārāyaṇa-pariṣada, a court Paṇḍita of the King Hari Nārāyana Bhairava Simhadeva. In his last work extant, the Pitr-bhakti-tarangiṇi, towards the end, Vācaspati is called the Pariṣad, or court Paṇḍita of Rāmabhadradeva, the son of Bhairava Siṃha.

HIS WORKS ARE I:—

(i) The Ācāra-cintámaṇi, on the daily rites of the Vājasneyins, including the daily worship of deities.

(ii) The Āhnika-cintāmaṇi, on the daily rites of the twice-born generally.
(iii) The Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi, dealing with the festivals of the year.
(iv) The Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi, describing the five sacred places. Prayāga, Puruṣottama (Bhuvanesvara), Gayā, the Ganges, and Benares, and the various ceremonies to be observed there when on pilgrimage.
(v) The Dvaita-cintāmaṇi, on doubtful points of Smṛti.
(vi) The Nīti-cintāmani, on the kingly duties.
(vii) The Vivāda-cintāmaṇi, dealing with civil and criminal law.
(viii) The Vyavahāra-cintāmaṇi, on legal procedure and evidence.
(ix) The Śuddhi-cintāmaṇi, on purification.
(x) The Śūdr-ācāra-cintāmaṇi, on the daily duties of a Sudra.
(xi) The Śrāddha-cintāmaṇi on funeral ceremonies.
(xii) The Tithi-nīrṇaya, on the doubtful points of Smṛti in connection with lunar days.
(xiii) The Dvaita-nīrṇaya, the ascertainment of doubtful or disputed points in Smṛti.
(xiv) The Mahādāna-nīrṇaya, deals with the sixteen great gifts.
(xv) The Vivāda-nīrṇaya, on points of civil and criminal law.
(xvi) The Śuddhi-nīrṇaya, on purification due to religious impurities, death, birth, etc.
(xvii) The Kṛtya-mahārṇava, dealing with the fasts and festivals of the year and discussing the proper time thereof.
(xviii) The Gayā-śrāddha-paddhati, a manual of the funeral rites to be performed at Gaya.
(xix) The Candana-dhenu-pramāṇa, a discussion of the texts for substituting sandal paste marks instead of burnt marks on the bull dedicated at the time of the Srāddha.
(xx) The Dattaka-vidhi, or Dattaka-putr-estiyāga-vidhi, a manual of the rites for the adoption of a son.
(xxi) Pitṛbhakti taraṅgini.

(xxii) Prāyascittacintāmani.
(xxiii) Gayāyātrā
(xxiv) Gayāprayoga.

At the end of the Pitr-bhakti[1] he states that he composed 10 works on the Śāstras (Nyāya) and 30 on Smṛti. His Nyāya works yet discovered are :—

(i) The Anumāna-khanda-tikā, said to give the essence of the views of Gautama (Nyāya) and of Jaimini (Mimānsā). It is probably a commentary on the Anumāna-khaṇḍa of Gangesopādhyāya's tattva-cintāmani
(ii) The Khandan-oddhāra, notes on the work of Sriharsa's Khaṇdana-khaṇḍa-khādya.
(iii) The Nyāya-sūtra-oddhāra, notes on the Nyāya-sūtra of Gautama. A fragment only found.
(iv) The Śabda-nirṇaya, a grammatico-philosophical treatise on Śabda or words. No MS. yet found. Mentioned in his Dvaita-nirnaya

One Laghu-purus artha-cintāmani is mentioned in the Benares College Catalogue as composed by the Maithila Vācaspati Miśra. If correctly attributed, it is not clear whether it belongs to Smṛti or Darśana.

It is said traditionally that he had a son named Lakṣmidāsa who in 1501 A D. wrote the Ganita-tattva-cintāmani, a commentary on the Ganitadhyāya and Golādhyāya of Bhāṣkarācārya's Siddhānta-śiromaṇi. In this work he calls himself the son of Vācaṣpati Miśra, who was son of Keśava of the Upamānya Gotra.[2] Varddhamānopādhyāya in the Danda-viveka declared Sankara and Vācaspati as his guruvah (preceptors)

He has attributed some of his works to Bhairavendra (i.e. Hari Nārāyaṇa), i.e. the Kṛtya-mahārṇava, the Vyavahāra-cintāmani and the Mahādāna-nirṇaya and has admit

[1] Cf. Pitribhakti Tarangini :—

शास्त्रे दश स्मृतौ त्रिंशन्निबंधा येन यौवने ।
निर्मितास्तेन चरमे वयस्यष विनिर्मिते ॥

[2] But the Mithilā Panji Prabandha (i.e. the hereditory tables of Maithila Brāhmanas) shows that Abhinava Vācaspati Miśra was a Maithila Brāhmaṇa of Batsya-gotra and of Paliwarsamaul-mool.

Popular tradition calls a son of Vācaspati Miśra Narahari Miśra whose son was Keśava Miśra.

ted having composed several works such as Dvaita-nirnaya by the order of Jayādevi, queen of Bhairavendra

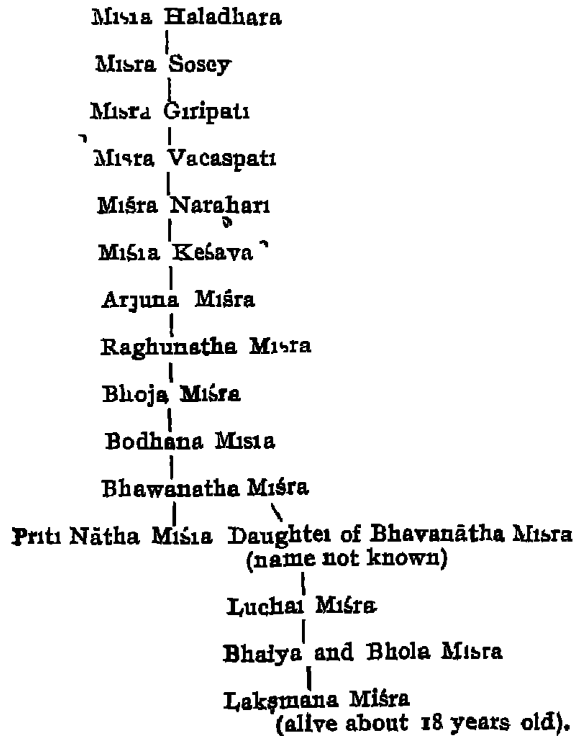
The oldest manuscript of his, a copy of the Suddhi-nirnaya, is dated Samvat 1416, Caitra Amāvasya, or 1494 A D[1], These accounts show that he flourished in two reigns, viz of Bhairavasiṁhadeva, and in his old age of Bhairava's son Rāmabhadradeva.[2]

He composed a large number of works and must have lived to a good old age. He may be placed between years 1450 and 1550.

Acala Upādhyāya.

He is traditionally believed to be a brother of Macala Upadhyāya. This tradition is, however, based upon Pañji. Aufrecht[3] mentions one Acala Upādhyāya, author of

The following table based on Maithila Panjis will show his family connection —



1 Cf. R. Mitra, Notices, X, p. 58, No. 3318.
Here 'Samvat' is obviously mistaken for Saka.
2 Cf. Rāmabhadradeva.
3 Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p 5 (a) and Vol. II, p. 1 (b).

Vākyabāda and Śabda-vicāra. From his name it appears that he was a Maiṭhila. He has been also mentioned by Dr. Rājendra Lāla Mitra in his Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts (No. 1940) and by Paṇḍita Debi Prasāda in his Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts of Oudh, Vol. XVII (1884, No. 22). His age is not yet certain, but tradition assigns him to the 18th century.

Paṇḍita Arjuna Jhā.

He is known for his works: (1) Laghu-dīpikā, a book on astrology, and (2) his commentary on Udayanācāryya's Kusumañjali.

He is traditionally assigned to village Magrauni in the Darbhanga district and is said to have flourished at the beginning of the 19th century.[1]

Paṇḍita Badri Nātha Upādhyāya.

He was the author of (1) the commentary known as Marmasucika Byākhyā on the Tantrika work "Bhairava-Yāma-loktastotra; (2) a commentary on Tārābhakti Sudhārṇava; (3) Cakra Kaumudi.

Paṇḍita Ceta Nātha Jhā of Darbhanga has written a detailed commentary on Badrinātha's Bhairava-Yama-lokta-Stotra.

Aufrecht[2] has mentioned one Badrinātha Upādhyāya mentioned in Kavindra Candrodaya. It is not certain if it is the same person as our author.

His style is modern and his time certain. He is said to have emigrated from his birth-place in village Khokhā in the Purnea district to village Ujjain in Darbhanga district where he lived under the patronage of the late Mahārāja Maheswara Simha.[4] So he may be placed in the latter half of the 19th century.

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1 Cf. the commentary.

कार्तिक कृष्णप्रतिपच्छुक्र गोविन्दस्यार्थे लिखितमिदम्। पुस्तक लिखन परिश्रमवेत्ता विद्वज्जनोमान्यः। सागर लङ्घनखेदो हनुमानेकः परंवेत्ति। इति शाके १७४२ सन् १२२९ साल।

2 Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 366 (b).
Cf. Maheswara Simha.

RATNAPĀNI JHĀ OR BAGURAIYĀ JHĀ.

He is the author of the following works[1] :—

Ācārasaṁgraha (Smṛti);
Ekoddistasāriṇī;
Kṛiṣṇārcanacandrikā;
Kṣayamāsādiviveka;
Nāḍiparikṣādicikitsakathana;
Parvanacandrika;
Prāyaścittapārijāta;
Mahādānavākyāvali;
Mithileśacarita, a description of the customs and manners of Mithila and its rulers;
Mithileśahnika;
Vratācāra, writen for Maheśvarasimha, son of Rudrasimha, son of Chattra Simha;
Subodhini Dh., written by request of Rudrasimha, Raja of Tirhut;
Rāmacandra Pratiṣtha, a book on rituals and several ritualistic and religious songs.

He is a modern writer and was contemporary of Rājā Rudra Simha[2] who patronised him. His time is certain and he may be placed in the first half of the 19th century.

BĀṆAKAVI.

He is the author of Pārvati-pariṇaya-nātaka, dealing with rituals of marriage ceremonies prevalent in Mithila. He was a Maithila Brāhmaṇa of *Bhandāri-samaya-mool* and of Vatsya-gotra.[3] Popular tradition assigns him to a village called Bhandārisama in Darbhanga district near Manigāchi railway station. The image of goddess, 'Vāniśwara-bhagawati' said to have been founded by him, is still to be found in that village.

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1 Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 490 (a).
2 Cf. Rudra Simha.
3 Based upon Maithila Pañji.

Bāṇakavi was a very important and famous Paṇdita of Mithilā.

He must be distinguished from his namesake, the famous writer of Kadamvari, Sri Harṣa-caritra, etc.

Tradition makes him friend of Vācāṣpati Jhā[1] and brother of Rucipati.[2] So he may be placed in the 2nd half of the 15th century.

BAIDYANĀTHA.

He was a Maithila and wrote Keśava caritra, a poem describing the life of Keśava Deva, king of Multan, father of Tara Candra.[3] He lived in the 18th century A.D.

BATEŚWARA JHĀ.

He is the author of a commentary on the Sanskṛt drama Mudrā Rāksasa and said to have been a contemporary of Rājā Dhira Simha[4] and as such he may be placed about the middle of the 15th century A D. He is said to have been great-great-grandfather of Narahari Upādhyāya.[5]

BENIDĀTTA JHĀ.

Known for his poem, Rasa-kaustubham, which is still in manuscript.

His age is not certain. He may be placed in the 18th century as his style is modern.

BHĀGĪRATHA OR MEGHA THAKKURA.

Three of his Vaiśeṣika sub-commentaries are extant, all on Varddhamāna's work, viz :—

(i) the Kirṇāvali-prakāśa-prakāśikā ;
(ii) the (Nyāya) Kusum-ānjali-prakāsa-prakāśikā, etc.;

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[1] The following śloka is traditionally ascribed to Vācāspati Jhā :—

ध्वस्तः काव्याब्धिमेरुः कवि विपणि महारत्न राशिर्विशीर्णः मग्नः मब्दौघ सिन्धु प्रलयमुपगतो काव्यमाणिक्य कोषः। दिव्योक्तीनां निधानं निधनमुपगतं हा हता विद्यवाणी। बाणे दूर प्रयाते प्रतिहत विधिना प्रापिते दीर्घ निद्राम् ।

[2] Cf. Rucipati.

[3] Cf. the Lahore Statement No. 4 showing the old and rare manuscripts in the Gujaranwālā and the Delhi districts, by Paṇḍita Kāśinātha Kunte.

[4] Cf. Dhira Simha.

[5] Cf. Narhari Upādhyāya.

(iii) the (Nyāya) lilavati-prakāsa-vyākhyā ;
(iv) Dravyaprakāśikā ;
(v) a commentary on Bauddhā-dhikkāra.

He was an elder brother of Mahesa Thakkurra and may therefore be placed with him in the 4th quarter of the 14th century.[1]

But if his brother, Mahesa Thakurra,[2] was the founder of the present Darbhanga Raj, then he must be placed in the 2nd half of the 16th century.

BHĀNU MISRA OR BHĀNU DATTA.

He is son of Ganeśa or Gaṇapati and he has cited several verses of his father in his works which evidently show that his father was also a poet. This Gaṇapati is very likely the author of 'Mahāmoda' to which reference is made by Rājaśekhara.[3]

The four works, viz: (1) Rasamañjari ; (2) Rasa taraṅgiṇī ; (3) Rasapārijāta ; and (4) Gita-gauripati, are ascribed to him. The first two works are undoubtedly by one and the same Bhānudatta. According to his own statement[4] Rasamañjarī is an older and more detailed work than Rasataraṅgiṇi.

The following works are also attributed to him[5] :—

(1) Kumāra Bhārgaviya,
(2) Muhurta-śara,
(3) Alamkāra Tilaka,
(4) Śriṅgāradīpika.

He says at the end of the Rasamañjari that he lived in a country encircled by the river of the gods, i.e. the Ganges. This must put him in close proximity to Mithilā.

According to tradition he was living in village Isahpur

1 Cf. the following śloka which is attributed to Megha Thakkura who is said to have been a student of Jayadeva or Pakṣadhara Misra :—

विश्वाब्दे जयद्वैव पण्डितकवेस्तर्कां ब्धिपारङ्गतः श्रीमानेष भगीरथः समजनि श्रीचन्द्रपत्यात्मज
श्रीधीरात्तनयेन तेन रचिता श्रीभन्महेशाग्रज श्रीदामोदरपूर्वजेन जयतादाचन्द्रमेषा
हतिः ॥ ४ ॥

2 Cf. Maheśh Thakkur, p. .
3 Cf. Sakti Muktāvalı of Jalhana.
Cf. Peterson's introduction to Subhāṣitāvali, p. 33.
4 Cf. Rasataraṅgiṇı, p. 68A, Benares edition.
5 Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 505 (a), 1885.

near Manigāchi railway station in Darbhanga district. A tank called Bhānumati is still found in that village.

His date is uncertain.[1] His Rasamañjarī was commented upon by Gopāla in Vikrama Samvata 1494, i.e. 1437 A.D.

Certain verses, viz. verses Nos. 790, 973, 1032, 1271, 3328 and 3685 in "Sārañgadhara-Paddhati" are cited under the name of the poet Bhānupaṇdita or Vaidya Bhānupaṇdita. If our author is identical with Vaidya Bhānu Paṇdita, he certainly lived before the date of Sārañgadhara Paddhati, i.e. 1363 A.D.

In Rasatarañginī and Rasamañjarī, he frequently cites 'Bharata' and 'Śṛngāra Tilaka' of Rudrabhatta It is now certain that Rudrabhatta lived before the 12th century A.D. because he is cited by Hem Candra, the author of "Kāvyānuśāsana," who admittedly lived in the 12th century. So Bhānudatta may be placed approximately in the 2nd half of the 13th century

BHAVADEVA MISRA.

He was son of Kṛṣṇadeva Miśra of Mithilā and was author of Dānadharma-prakriyā and Pātañjalasūtrabhāsya[2] and he belonged to the 1st half of the 17th century A.D.

BHAVANĀTHA MISRA.

He was father of Śañkara Miśra and brother of Jiva-Natha or Jayanatha Miśra. He was known for his erudite learning of Sāñkhya Darśana Nyáya and Smṛti. Even now the Maithilas identify his house in village Sarisava in Darbhanga district.

The works Mimamsā Navaviveka, Nyāyā Pallava, Nyāyalīlāvatikaṅthābharaṇa and Khaṇdanākhādyatika are attributed to him though without[3] absolute certainty.

He spent his days in Benares. Bhavanātha Misra has

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[1] According to popular tradition he was father of Jānudatta Miśra and Jānudatta's daughter's son was Gañgā Nanda Kavi, who was author of Bhṛñgadutta.

[2] Cf. Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts by Rājendra Lal Mittra, Calcutta, 1871-90, No. 1834.

[3] अधीतमध्यापितमर्जितं यशो न शोचनीय किमपीह भूतले । अतः पर श्रीभवनाथशर्मणो मनो मनोहारिणि जाह्नवी तटे ।

left a great name and reputation in Mithilā.[1] It is said of him by the Maithila Paṇḍitas that he was named Ajāchi Misra because when a ruler of Mithilā called him to his house, he said it was not necessary for him to go to the king and all that he required were a few *bel* fruits of which there was an abundance in his house

As he was father of Sankara Misra[2] he may be placed in the 1st half of the 15th century

BIBHĀKARA.

He was author of Ācāra-dvaita and is said to have belonged to village Ujāna in Darbhanga district He is assigned to the middle of the 19th century A.D

BHĪSMA UPĀDHYĀYA.

He is the author of Gita-Śaṃkara (a book on music) mentioned in the Catalogue of Oudh Manuscripts.[3] He is also accredited with the authorship of Kumārasambhvatikā and Vṛtyadarpaṇa. He was a Maithila Brāhmaṇa

His time is uncertain but he has a modern style and may be roughly placed in the 18th century A.D.

BIŚVEŚVARA MIŚRA.

He is author of "Smṛtisamuccaya" mentioned by Dhanūrdhara in his "Nitya Kṛtyārṇava." Tradition says that he was married to the daughter (Kumudinīdevi) of Rājā Acyuta[4] Thakkura and that he was father of Raghudeva Miśra who has mentioned him in his Virudāvali.[5] He is traditionally said to have been honoured by king Shah Jahan.

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1 It is said of him that a Sanyāsi who saw him teaching his pupils spoke :—

तर्क कर्कश विचार चातुरी कातुरीय वयसा विभाव्यते ।

चातुरी भवति यत्र मानसम् ।

on this Bhavanātha Misra replied :—

धातुरी चित्तं मया करोति क.

2 Cf. Sañkara Misra.

3 Cf. Catalogne of Sanskrit MSS. in Oudh by Paṇḍita Deviprasāda, Vol. III, 20, also Aufrecht, Vol. I, p 154 (a).
Also Aufrecht, Vol. I, p 413 (b).

4 Cf. Account of Darbhanga Raj Family

5 Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 748(a).

He is to be distinguished from Biśweśwara, author[1] of "Smṛti Samuccaya" quoted by Hemadri, by Sūlapaṇi, by Premanidhi, by Raghunandana in Prāyaścitta-tattva, by Ananta in Bidhāna Pārijāta, etc.

As he was a son-in-law of Acyuta Thakkura, he may be placed in the 2nd-half of the 17th century.

PAṆḌITA CANDA JHĀ.

He was a great writer who flourished towards the close of the 19th century and was in the employ of the late Mahārāja Sir Lakṣmeśwara Siṁha and the present Mahārāja Sir Rameśwara Siṁha. He has left several works, some of which are :—

1. Mithilā Bhāṣā Rāmāyaṇa.
2. Saptasati.
3. Puruṣa-parīkṣā-tika.
4. Rasamanjari.
5. Lakṣmiśwara Vilāsa.
6. Vātāhāvāna.
7. Gitāśudha.

He may certainly be placed towards the close of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century.

CANDESVARA THAKKURA.

He is a noted authority of Smṛti in Mithilā and he is known for his famous Smṛti Ratnākara which consists of seven parts[2] :—

(i) The Kṛtya-ratnākara[3] deals with fasts, festivals, and their appropriate times,

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[1] Cf. Virudavali :—

श्रीविश्वेश्वर मिश्रतः कुमुदिनी देवी कुमार कुलालंकारं समता पथ गणपतिं गौरी गिरिग्रादिव दौहित्रो ऽच्युतठक्कुरस्य क्षतिनः श्रीहृदितानान्ययःश्रेष्ठोऽसौ रघुदेव वाजक कवि वैदेहभूसपज्ञः ॥

विधाद्बुधमुखं महीपतिमथ श्रीवुद्धिनाथं ततो लक्ष्मीदेव कुलाधिदेव सहितं श्रीमोहन मोहनम् ॥ नत्वा श्रीहरिदेव देव जनुषं ज्येष्ठं वयोभिर्गुणैः क्षत्रेमां विरुदावलीमिह सदानन्दे ऽमुत्रेन्यस्तवान् ॥

[2] Cf. the last śloka of the Dāna-ratnākara.

श्रीकृत्यदानव्यवहार शुद्धि पूजा विवादेषु तथा गृहस्थे ।
रत्नाकराधर्म्मभुषो निबन्धाः, कृतास्तुलापूरुष देव सप्त ॥

[3] The Kṛtya-ratnākara quotes a considerable number of later Smṛti works, e.g. the—

(ii) The Gṛhastha-ratnākara[1] deals with the duties of a householder,
(iii) The Dāna-ratnākara[2] deals with the various kinds of religious gifts,
(iv) The Suddhi-ratnākara is on purification,
(v) The Vivāda-ratnākara[3] deals with the Civil and Criminal law and may be said to have formed

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Kalpa-taru (39 times)
Kalpa-taru-kara (3)
Kāma dhenu (7)
Gopāla (2)
J.ā-nibandha (1)
Bhupāla (9)
Dāna-sāgara (25)
Deveśvara Dharmā-dhikaranika (1)
Parijāta (36)
Murāri-rājā (1)
Yogiśvara (2)
Rājā-martaṇḍa (3)
Lakṣmidhara (4)
Varṣa-dipikā (1)
Vasanta rāja (1)
Visvarupa (1)
Vrata-sagara (1)
Sesodatta (1)
Sesodatta (1)
Sridattopadhyaya (1)
Sat-trimsau mata (2)
Samaya-pradipa (12)
Skanda-yamala (1)
Sāgara (20)
Smrti-maharaṇava-prakāsa-kara (2)
Halāyudha (2)

[1] The Gṛhastha quotes the—

Kalpa-taru (8)
Kalpa-taru-kara (2)
Kāma-dhenu (1)
Parijāta (18)
Mitakṣara-kara (3)
Rājā (? Bhojadeva) (1)
Lakṣmidhara (10)
Sridatt-aunika (2)
Smṛti-maharnavakara (5)
Smṛti-ratna viveka (3)
Halayudha (9), and besides these it mentions thrice his own Kṛtya ratn-ākara.

[2] The work (Dāna) professes to have been made after consulting the Kalpa-druma, the Pārijāta and the Kāma-dhenu. The references are few, among which may be mentioned:—

Kalpa-taru (1)
Kāma dhenu (1)
Dāna-sāgara (8)
Pārijāta (4)
Prakāśa (2)
Bṛhad-Yogiśvara (1)
Bhupāla (7)
Bhupāla-paddhati (1)
Medhatithi (1)
Mṛtyunjaya (2)
Yogiśvara (2)
Lakṣmidhara (1)
Sāgara (13)

[3] It forms the basis of the Vivāda-cintamaṇi of Vacāṣpati Miśra, the Vivāda-cāndra of Miśru Miśra and the Daṇḍa-viveka of law, such as the commentators of the Dāyā-bhāga (Acyuta Cakravartti, Raghunandana, Śri-Kṛṣṇa Tarkālankāra), Raghunandan in his 28 tattvas, and so on. It contains a large number of quotations from authorities, and mentions the following late works and writers of Smṛti:—

Asahāya as quoted by Prakāśa-kara (1)
Udayakara in Manuptika (4)
Kalpa-taru (31)
Kalpa-taru-kara (4)
Kāma-dhenu (6)
Graheśvara Miśra (2)
Parijāta (50)
Bhaguri, the Vṛtti-kara (1)
(Manu) Bhāṣya-kara (1)
Mitākṣara (7)
Mitākṣara-kara (3)
Miśrah (1)
Medhatithi, quoted twice from the Prakāśa (7)
Lakṣmidhara (11)
Smṛti-Maharṇava (1)
(Smṛti-maharṇava) prakaśa (22
(Smṛti maharṇava) prakaśa-kara (25)
Harihara (3)
Halāyudha-nibandha (3).

the basis of the Vivāda cintamaṇi of Vācaspati Misra (Abhinava), the Vivāda candra of Misaru Misra and others who followed Candeśvara Thakkura,

(vi) The Vyavahāra-ratnākara[1] is on legal procedure and evidence,

(vii) Pujā Ratnākara.

He compiled other works, viz:—

(i) The Kṛtya-cintamani[2] on astrological discussions of religious observances.

It was often quoted in later works and should be distinguished from the Kṛtya-cintāmaṇi of Vācāṣpati Miśra. In the introductory verses it mentions Garga, Vārāhamihira, Bhojarājā Śripati Parāsara and Saxya, Jiveśvara and others.

(ii) The Dāna-vakyāvali[2] seems to be a supplement to his Dāna-ratn-ākara. It mentions the Kalpataru (3), the Kāma-dhenu (1), the Dānakāṇda, the Dāna-sāgara (1), besides his own Dāna-ratn-ākara (once).

(iii) The Śiva-vākyāvali,[2] on Śiva worship is quoted in the Varṣa-kṛtya of Rudradhara.

The following works are also attributed to him[3]:—

(1) Ādhividhi; (2) Dāsavimokṣavidhi; and (3) Svāmipālavivādataraṅga.

The Vivāda and the Vyavahāra ratnakaras make him entitled to be called a writer on politics and his works may be compared well with those of Kautilyasta Kamaṇḍaka and Sukra, the early writers on Politics in Sanskrit whose works show Indian life in full vigour.

Candeśvara's works cover the whole ground of administration, military, civil, judicial, and so on. His work shows that he wrote under the orders of the king, Hara-Simha whose minister he was. It may be noted

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1 The Vyavahāra is said to be an enlargement of the Kalpa-druma, the Parijāta and the Kāmadhenu of Gopāla. The headings agree very nearly with those in the Vyavahāra-Kalpa-taru.

2 For the Kṛtya-cintamāni, Ind. Office Cat. p. 611, No. 1621, for the Dānavākyāvali, and. Govt MS. 5480 (33 folios) copies in samvat 1612 or 1555 A.D., and for the Siva-vākyāvali, Ind. Offg. Cat. VI, p. 1409, No. 3727.

3 Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I. p. 177 (b).

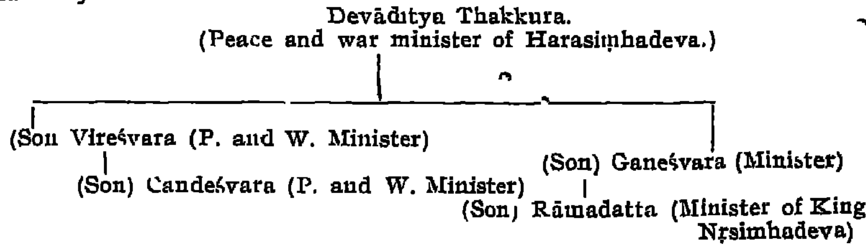
that Ganeśvara, Candesvara and Ramadatta belong to one family. Candesvara has given an account of his family in the Kṛtya-ratnākara (a part of his Smṛti-ratnākara), the end verses of Dana-ratnākara and the Vivāda-ratnākara.[1]

Candeśvara was war minister of Harasiṃhadeva. He is said to have won great battles with the Nepalese in the Sākā year 1236 corresponding to 1314 A.D. Rāmadatta, son of Ganeśvara, was a Minister of Raja Nṛsiṃhadeva of Mithilā. Candeśvara says that he conquered the Mlecchas. This may perhaps refer to the Muslim invasion of Tirhut about 1324 A.D. under Ghyasuddin.[2]

In the circumstances Gaṇeśvara and Candeśvara may be safely placed in the 1st-half and Rāmadatta in the 2nd-half of the 14th century.

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[1] We get the following facts about the family Devāditya was peace and war minister of the king Harasimhadeva. He had two sons, Vireśvara and Ganeśvara Vireśvara was peace and war minister of the same king, and Ganeśvara his minister (mantri). Candeśvara, son of Vireśvara, became peace and war minister of the same king. He is said to have conquered Nepal, to have given large quantity of gold on the bank of the Vāgvati river in the bright-half of the month Mārgaśira, Sākā 1236 (1314 A.D.), and to have rescued the earth from the deluge of Mlecchas. Rāmadatta, son of Ganeśvara, was minister (mantri) of the king Nrsimha and a Mahāmahattaka too. The family relationship may be shown at a glance by a chart thus:—



It is doubtful if a busy high officer like Candeśvara personally compiled the digest. Its very size, one section (the Vivāda) alone taking up 671 pages in print and the extravagant praise bestowed on Candeśvara in the introduction and at the end prevent us from coming to this conclusion. His cousin Ramadatta admits that his manual on Saṁskāras was completed by one Svāmī Thakkura, and that his manual on gifts was compiled with the aid of Bhava Sarmman of Khaupa (ua?) lavaṁśa. These high officers probably supervised the compilations prepared by some pandit or body of paṇḍits, and were naturally credited with the authorship. In modern times we have similar examples in Bengali translation of the Mahabharata passing under the name Kaliprasanna Siṁha of Calcutta; and going back earlier we find both Vidyāpati and Vācaspati Misra attributing some of their own works to their patrons (pp. 385-86 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Nov. & Dec., 1915, Vol. XI).

[2] R. Mitra, Notices, VI, p. 135, No. 2069, end verse 2:—

मग्ना म्लेच्छमहार्णवे वसुमती येनोद्धृता लीलया ।
विध्वस्तावनिवैरिणः क्षितिभुजां लक्ष्मीः समासादिता ॥

The Dāna-ratnākara which gives this information should therefore be later than 1324 A.D. Some of the other Ratnākaras (Vivāda) and the Kṛtya-cintamani

PAṆḌITA CANDRADATTA JHĀ.

His most famous work is (1) Bhaktamāla in Sanskṛt. His other works are (2) Paribhāṣa-mani-mālā; (3) Karṇagītamahākāvya and (4) Bhagawati Stotra; (5) Kāśigitā or Kasikagita (a treatise on music) and Kṛṣṇa-virudavali.

He was a contemporary of Mahārāja Chatra Siṁha[1] and so he may be placed in the 1st-half of the 19th century.

CANDRADATTA UPĀDHYA.

He was a Maithila[2] Brāhmaṇna and author of भगवद्भक्तिमहात्म्य "Bhagwatbhakti Mahātmya." His time is not yet certain.

CHATRAKARA ŚUKLA.

Known for his commentary on the drama Anargharāghava. He says in his commentary[3] that he wrote it at the instance of Rājā Bhairava Simha[4], son of Rājā Nṛsiṁha of Mithilā. Thus he may be placed during the reign of Bhairava Simha, i.e. about the middle of the 15th century A.D.

CITRADHARA UPADHYAYA.

He is said to have belonged to village Magrauni in Darbhanga district. His extant works are: (1) Pramāṇa Pramoda[5]; (2) Singāra-Sārini and (3) Virasārini. Tradition assigns him to the 19th century A.D.

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mention his performance of the Tula-purusa ceremony in Sākā 1236, and must be later than that date. It seems probable that his compilations were generally completed after A.D. 1314 and some part after 1324 A.D. They may be therefore placed roughly between 1315–30 A.D. His uncle, Ganeśvara, composed his work, the Sugati-sopana, a little earlier, say in the beginning of the fourteenth century, while his younger cousin, Rāmadatta, compiled his work a little later, say in the second quarter of the same century (p 386 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Nov. & Dec. 1915, Vol. XI).

1 Cf Appendix C.

2 Cf. The catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the library of his Highness the Maharaja of Alwar by Peter Peterson, No. 1580, extract 5093, Bombay, 1892.

3 Cf. the following śloka in the commentary :—

राजराजनरसिंह सूनुना निर्मलो भय कुलाब्ज भानुना ।
स्मरतोभिरपि गतीकीर्तिना कान्ति निर्जित मनोज मूर्तिना ॥
श्रीमता तेन भूपेन कार्यते ऽनर्घराघवे ।
घाला श्रीमच्छत्र करमिति पुण्याविष्टतिः सती ॥

4 Cf. Bhairava Siṁha, 1.

5 Aufrecht mentions two other works called "Pramāṇa Pramoda". (1) by Gokulanātha and (2) by Hari. Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 354(b).

DĀMODARA MIŚRA

He is known for his "Vanibhuṣaṇa" published in the Kāvya-mālā series.[1] In the colophon he describes himself as a Maithila of the Dīrghaghosa or Dighawaita[2] family.

He must be distinguished from Dāmodara Miśra, the compiler of Hanumāna Nātaka as well as from Dāmodara Miśra of the Bhoja Prabandha.

Pandita Lakṣmi Nātha, the commentator of the Prākritapingala, has mentioned his work and as Lakṣmi Nāth's work is assigned to the Samvat 1657, I think Dāmodara may be placed at the beginning of the 17th century if not earlier. But from Dāmodara's "Vāṇibhusana" it appears that he lived during the time of Mahārājā Kīrti-Simha.[3]

As Kīrti Simha flourished at the beginning of the 15th century, he may be placed about the middle of the 15th century.

DEVANĀTHA THAKKURA.

He is author of Tattva-cintāmaṇi-āloka-pariśiṣta, a commentary on Jayadeva's Āloka which in itself is a commentary on Gangeśa's work. It appears that a manuscript of his work was copied in La. Samvat 443 or 1562 A.D.[4]

Local tradition makes him son of Govinda Thakkura, calls him Nyāya Pañcaka and places him in village Bhatasimiri. He is said to have been a pupil of Somabhatta.[5] He is accredited with the authorship of : (i) Smṛti-Kaumudi ; (ii) Adhikaraṇa-kaumudi ; (iii) Kāvya-kaumudi and (iv) Tantra-Kaumudi. As son of Govinda Thakkura, he may be placed in the 16th century.

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1 No. [illegible]e Kavya-mālā series, Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1903 edition.
Also [illegible]t's Catalogous Catalogorum, Vol. I, p. 231 A.

2 इति [illegible]र्घ घोष कुलोद्भूत दामोदर मिश्र विरचितम् वाणीभूषणं समाप्तम् ॥

3 की[illegible]जीय यावद्गत दानितरणी ।
(p. 1[illegible] of Vāṇibhuṣaṇam.
For [illegible]tha cf. Aufrecht's Vol. I, p. 538 B.

4 Cf. [illegible]stri, Notices III, p. 75, No. 116.

5 In [illegible]ṇa Kaumudi Deva Nātha says :—

सोम भट्टोपदिष्टेन पथा संचरतोऽधुना
मीमांसा विषयारण्ये शरणं मम भारती

DHANAPATI UPĀDHYĀYA.

He was son of Rucipati, and author of Srāddha-darpaṇa in which he has given the following genealogical table which will show his family connection :—

Ratnapāṇi
|
Nyāyāditya
|
Matikara
|
Harivanśa
|
Ratidhara
|
Viśwanātha
|
Rucipati (commentator on Anargha-Rāghava)
|
Dhanapati (author of Srāddha darpaṇa)
|
Agamācāryya Harapati (author of Mantra pradipa).

Dhanapati has mentioned in his Srāddha-darpaṇa[1] that this book was composed during the time of Mahārājā Rupanārāyaṇa Rāmabhadra, who apparently flourished in the 2nd-half of the 15th century.

Bibhākara in his Dvaita Viveka (not yet published) has mentioned that Mahārājā Rupanārāyaṇa Rāmabhadra[2] was a friend of Sultān Sikandar Lodi.[3]

As he flourished during the time of Sikandar Lodi, he may be placed in the latter half of the 15th[redacted]y.

PANDITA DĪNABANDHU JHĀ ALIAS [redacted] NEMANA JHĀ.

He was a pupil of Pandita Acala Upād[redacted]f Magrauni. It is traditionally believed that he se[redacted]der the

[1] Manuscript of Sraddha-darpana is to be found in t[redacted]nga Raj Library, Darbhanga.
[2] Cf. Ramabhadra.
[3] सिकन्दर पुरन्दरो गुरुदुरोदर क्रीडया दिनं गमयति भुवं विविध न[redacted] ॥ १ ॥
प्रचण्ड रिपुमण्डली मुकुट कोटि कोटि प्रभाभमाजुत पदाम्बुजम यमित[redacted]नयन ॥ १ ॥

Rājā of Nepal and got jagir from the Nepal Darbar in the Samvata year 1811 corresponding to the English year 1754 A.D. He left many sons who were famous for their Sanskrit learning, such as Nandi Jhā, Babujana Jhā, Kṛṣṇadatta Jhā and others. It is said that the Nepal Darbar sanad is still in the possession of the descendants of Paṇḍita Dīnabandhu Jhā of village Pilakwara in the Darbhanga district. I have not been able to see this. But all this account is based on popular tradition backed up by the Maithila Pañji which shows these names.

DURGADATTA MISRA.

He is known as the author of [1] Nyāyabodhini on Nyāya and Vaiśeṣikā and [2] Vritta-Muktāvali. Aufrecht calls the author of Vrittamuktāvali to be a Maithil. His time is not yet settled, but he cannot be placed earlier than the 16th century A.D.

PAṆḌITA DWĀRAKĀ NĀTHA THAKKURA.

He wrote a commentary[3] on Śraddha Paddhati of Śridatta[4] Upādhyāya. His father's name was Kalānātha Thakkura who was an inhabitant of village Govindapur in the Bhagalpur district. There is no dispute regarding his Maithila nationality.

His style is quite modern. He may be placed in the latter half of the 19th century.

GAṆAPATI.

He is known for his Gaṅgā-bhakti-taraṅgini, a book in three parts dealing with the rites or ceremonies to be

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1 Cf. Aufrecht, Vol I, p. 256 (a).

2 Cf. H. P. Sāstri, Notices III, p. 75, No. 116.

3 Published at the Jageswar Press, Benares. Cf. the final ślokas which he composed.

श्रीकलानाथ सन्नाल मव्द कानन केसरी. सेखरी छत सज्जन्योवसन् काश्यां शिवं सरन् अनेक शास्त्राण्यवलोक्य टिप्पणा भूय, सश्लोक हिताय सम्यक् श्रीद्वारकानाथ इति प्रपूज्ये प्रकाश्ये पद्धति के सुधीः सन् ॥ २ ॥

गोविन्दपुर वास्तव्यः कर वद्धो सज्जसुंदः। श्रीयुताम् प्रार्थये नित्यं चम्यन्तांस्खलितानि मे उत्तापर्द्धतिक संशोधनं परसम्मा निवासि।

4 C. F., p. .

performed on the bank of the river Ganges. In this book he states that he was born in the family of Yogiśvara[1] and his grandfather received pension from the Mithilā king and that he was son of Dhareśvara. A manuscript or copy of it has been found dated Samvat 1755, i.e. 1698 A.D.[2] Gaṇapati quoted Vācāṣpati Miśra and Varddhamānopādhyāya as authorities. He belongs in any case to the 17th century.[3]

GANEŚVARA THAKKURA.

He was brother of the minister Vireśvara and uncle of Candeśvara.

He was a writer on Smṛti and minister of Rājā Harasiṁha-deva[4] of Mithilā. He wrote Sugati-sopāna[5] (steps to bliss) dealing with various kinds of Dānas (gifts). As he was uncle of Candesvara[6] who lived in the 1st-half of the 14th century A.D. there can be no dispute regarding the certainty of his time which may be put in the 1st-half of the 14th century.

GAṄGĀ NANDA.

Known for his poetical piece "Karṇa Bhuṣaṇa which he composed while in the service of Mahārāja Karṇa Simha of Bikāner. His Karṇa Bhuṣaṇa has five chapters and traces the development of the several *rasas* or sentiments through all the stages or *bhāvas*.[7] From the last śloka of Karṇa Bhuṣaṇa, it appears that he was a Maithila.[8]

1—2 Cf. the introductory and final verses in the Gauga-bhakti-tarangini.

3 Varddhamānopadhyāya and Vācāspati Miśra come towards the end of the 15th century. Gaṇapati therefore comes between the 16th and the 17th centuries A D.

4 Cf. Harisiṁhadeva.

5 Cf. the 1st śloka:—

वेदस्मृति पुराणादि दृष्ट्वा लोक हितैषिणा ।
कृतं सुगति सोपानं श्रीगणेश्वर मन्त्रिणा ॥ १ ॥

A manuscript of the Sugati-sopan exists in the Nepal Darbar library and is dated Lakṣamaṇa Samvat 224=(about) 1340 A.D. (cf. p. 131 of the Nepal Catalogue by H. P. Sastri) 1905.

6 Cf. Candeswara.

7 Cf. page 167, "A History of the Classical Sanskrit Literature" by M Krishnamaharya, 1st edition.

[redacted]रेण गङ्गानन्देन निर्मितम् ।
ाय स्पर्द्धते कर्णभूषणम् ॥

He is also known as the author of a small work Bhṛṅgadoota, a poetical piece. It is a Dūta-Kāvya (i.e. written on the model of Kālidāsa's Meghdūta).

The popular tradition asserts that he lived in village Sarisau from Vikrama Samvata 1673 to 1742 corresponding to 1616 to 1685 A.D He was son of a daughter of Jānudatta, who was son of a Bhānu Miśra. He is traditionally said to be a nephew of Paṇḍita Raghunandana who was a student of Maheśa Thākkura. He is also known as author of "Kāvya-dakinī." He may be placed at the beginning of the 17th century, as his patron Karṇa Siṁha of Bikanir flourished in the first-half of the 17th century.[1]

GANGESOPĀDHYĀYA.

Gangeśopādhyāya is the author of the famous book Tattva-cintāmaṇi, i.e. the thought-jewel of truths. His book is said to be the most liberal treatise on the Nyāya system. Vācāspati Miśra, Jayanta, and Udayana have been quoted from place to place in his work. The principal object of this work was to controvert the principles of Buddhism.

It must be remembered that Vācaspati, Jayanta, and Udayanācāryya are the originators, so to speak, of the Nyāya system in Mithilā and Bengal. The fact that the Bengal authors refer freely to their works, shows their influence. Gangeśopādhyāya, comes next only to these three writers.

The Tattva-cintamani is divided into the following khaṇḍas (parts) :—

(i) Pratyakṣa or perception ;
(ii) Anumāna or inference with a special sub-section on Isvar-anumana or the inference about God ;
(iii) Upamāna or comparison ;
(iv) Śabda or affirmation.

There are too many commentaries[2] on these works to admit of any enumeration here but it may be noted that

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अनधीत्यरसग्रन्थ निखिलं कर्णभूषणे ।
दूषणं धीरमाद्देय मितिमे विनिवेदनम् ॥

[1] Cf. p. 277, C. M. Duff's chronology of India, 1899.
[2] The Vedanta Paribhasa mentions only 10 commentaries.

each of these khaṇdas is divided into several parts, each practically forming a book.[1]

Śabda-mani-prakāśa is a commentary on Gangeśa's works by Haridāsa Nyāyālaṅkāra of Navadvīpa[2]

In the final colophon Gangeśa is given the title of Upādhyāya (modern Ojha), a class of Brāhmaṇas who with the Miśras and Thakkuras practically monopolized Sanskrit learning in Mithilā. Varddhamānopādhyāya calls himself son of Ganeśvara.

His age is not as yet exactly determined but he has criticised Śriharṣa's Khaṇḍana-khanda-khādya. He must therefore be placed in the 4th quarter of the 12th century between Śriharṣa and his son Varddhamānopādhyāya[3] who has been assigned to the 1st half of the 13th century A.D., i.e. he belongs to the 4th quarter of the 12th century A.D. This supports the popular tradition in Mithila that he lived 800 years ago.

GIRIDHĀRI UPĀDHYĀYA

He was a Maithil[4] Brāhmaṇa and author of the astrological work, "Lagnavāda" His time is not certain.

DURGADATTA SARMĀ JHĀ.

Known as author of a poem called "Vātāh Vāṇa." His descendants are still living in village Tarauni[5] in the Darbhanga district.

He seems to have lived at the beginning of the 19th century A.D.

GOVARDHANĀCARYYA.

A famous poet in Mithilā. He was son of Nilāmbara[6] and was closely related to Udayanācāryya. But if this[7]

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1 Pratyakṣa has been divided into 12 parts, Anumāna into 17, Śabda into 16 and Upamāna has only one part.

2 Cf. p. 15 of the Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts, 1895–1900 by H. P. Sāstri.

3 Cf. Varddhamānopādhyaya. 4 Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. II, p, 196a.

5 He is to be distinguished from Durgādatta Jhā, author of Nyāya-bodhini.

6 Cf. Aryyāsaptasati.

यं गणयन्ति गुरोरनु यस्यास्तेऽधर्मकर्म सङ्कुचितम् ।
कविसद्म सुमनसमिव त तातं नीलाम्बरं वन्दे ॥

7 Cf. the Āryyasaptasati:—

" उदयन बलभद्राभ्यां सप्तशतीशिष्य सोदराभ्यां ।
द्यौरिव रविचन्द्राभ्यां प्रकाशिता निर्मलीकृत्य " Āryya.

Udayāna was different from the famous scholar of Nyāya, then Govardhanācāryya's Maithili nationality becomes still more doubtful.

His work "Āryya Saptaśati" (so called because it consists of 700 Ślokas in the Āryyā "metre"), is well known. It appears from an inscription that he was one of the Ministers of Lakṣmaṇa Sena.[1] This is also borne out by his own words in the Āryyāsaptaśati.[2]

Jayadeva has mentioned him in his Gitagovinda.[3] As Jayadeva lived at the Court of Lakṣmaṇa Sena, Govardhanācāryya seems to have lived before the beginning of 12th century.

GOVINDA THAKKURA.

He is son of Keśava and Sono Debi.[4] He was born

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[1] "गोवर्द्धनस्य शरणो जयदेव उमापतिः।
कविराजस्य रत्नानि समितौ लक्ष्मणस्य च"

[2] "सकल कलाः कल्पयितुं प्रभोः प्रबन्धस्य कुमुदबन्धोश्च
सेनकुलतिलक भूपतिरेको राकाप्रदोषश्च" ॥

[3] वाचः पल्लवयत्युमापतिधरः सन्दर्भशुद्धिं गिराम्।
जानीते जयदेव एव शरणः श्लाघ्यो दुरूहद्रुतः ॥
शृङ्गारोत्तर सत्प्रमेय रचनै "राचार्य्यगोवर्द्धनः"
स्पर्द्धः कोऽपि न विश्रुतः श्रुतिधरो धाय्यी कविः क्ष्मापतिः"।

[4] काव्यप्रदीपारम्भे यथा,—
"सोनोदेव्याः प्रथमतनयः केशवस्यात्मजन्मा
श्रीगोविन्दो रुचिकर कवेः सेव्हपाच्च कनीयान्।
श्रीमन्नारायणचरणयोः सम्यगाधाय चित्तं,
नत्वा सारस्वतमपि महः काव्यतत्त्वं व्यनक्ति" ॥ इति ॥
समाप्तौ यथा,—
"ज्येष्ठे सर्वगुणैः, कनीयसि वयोमात्रेण, पात्रे धियां
गात्रेण स्मरगर्वखर्वेन (ण) परे, निष्ठाप्रतिष्ठाश्रये।
श्रीहर्षे त्रिदिवं गते, मयि सनोद्दीने च कः शोधये-
दित्याशुद्धमहो महत्तु विधिना भारोऽयमारोपितः ॥ १ ॥
परिशीलयन्तु शन्तो मनसा सन्तोषशीलेन
इममद्भुत प्रदीपं प्रकाशमपि यः प्रकाशयति ॥ २ ॥
दीपिशद्वितयं कन्ये प्रदीपद्वितयं सुतौ।
स्वमतो सम्यगुत्पाद्य गोविन्दः श[redacted]॥ ३ ॥ इति

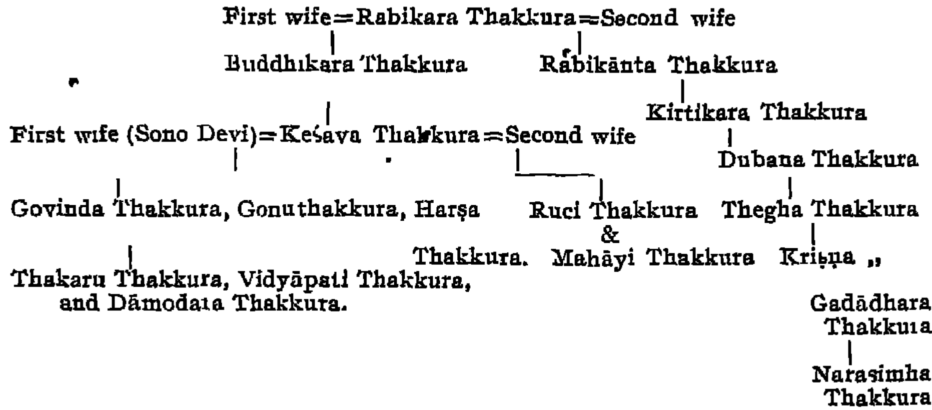
On the basis of these slokas, the follo[redacted]t of the family of Govinda Thakkura may be drawn up :—

in the Ravikara race in Mithilā.[1] His descendants can still be traced in villages Sumaul and Bhatasimiri near Madhubani in the Darbhanga district.

He is author of: (1) Kāvya Pradipa[2] and (2) Puja Pradipa.

Krṣṇa Stotra has also been attributed to him.

His Kāvya Pradipa is a commentary on Kāvya Prakāśa a well-known work on poetics by Mammatta. Though following the lines of Mammattá, it is generally studied as an independent treatise on poetics and has its own bulk and extent. His date is pretty certain. He lived between Viśva Nāth (who flourished in the 15th century) the author of Sāhitya darpaṇa, whom he refers to in his work by the word "Arbāchin" (=modern), and Kamalākara Bhatta (who has referred to Kāvya Pradipa in his commentary on Mammatta's Kāvya Prakāśa), the author of Nirṇaya Sindhu which is dated 1612 A.D. We can therefore certainly place him in the 16th century.



Cf. Prastāvanā of Kavyaprakasa, pp. 34-36 under the authority of Public Instruction, Bombay edition, 1901.

[1] The Kāvyamālā of Bombay has published a genealogical account of Govinda Thakkura and has found him to be a Maithila.

[2] The following slokas at the beginning of the Pujā Pradipa as well as that at the end of it show that he was in the employ of one Bhavanand Rāya. It is not known who this Bhavananda Rāya was and to which part of the country he belonged.

न स्राघन्ते विदग्ध गुरवे यस्य विद्या विदग्धे नासेवन्ते जलधितनयां यस्य दृष्टाः कृपार्द्रम्
नाकाचन्ति क्वचिदपि सुधां यस्य काव्यं पिबन्तः सन्तस्तोयं जयति जगति श्रीभवानन्द रायः ॥ १ ।

श्रीमत् केशव तनयो [redacted] देश (मनु) वर्ती । प्रकटयति धर्म्म पद्वीं पूजाकर्म
प्रदीपेन ग्रन्थान्त श्लोकः श्रीमद् [redacted] वर्ती गोविन्दशर्मा गुरुभक्ति युक्तः । उपासकानामुप-
कारहेतोः पूजाप्रदीप कृतवान् [redacted] ॥

GOKULNĀTHA UPĀDHYĀYA.

ın important Smṛti writer noted for his work "Ekā- Besides his Ekāvali he is said to have composed ɟllowing works:—

1) Amṛtodaya Nātaka; (2) Kuśumāñjali-tippani; (3) ·ali-Chando-grantha; (4) Kādambari-kirti-śloka; (5) ımbari-pradipa; (6) Kādambari-praśnottaramālā; (7) ⁄a-prakāśa-tika; (8) Rasinicakra-Tattva-cintāmani- , (9) Dikkalanirupaṇa; (10) Tattva-cintāmani Diddhiti- ɔta; (11) Padavākya-ratnākara; (12) Māsamimansa; Mithyatvanirbacana; (14) Śivastuti; (15) Khaṇḍana-kutḥāra; (16) Ālokatippani; (17) Adhāradheya-bhava-tattva-parikṣa; (18) Muktibāda-bicāra; (19) Biśiṣta-vaisisa-bodha; (20) Tarka-tattva-nirupana; (21) Prabodha-kā-dambari and (22) Dvanda-vicāra, etc.

He lived under the patronage of Mahārāja Fatehsah of Garhwal. He is traditionally known to have lived in village Mangrauni in the Darbhanga district and to have taught his younger brother Jagannātha Upādhyāya.

As his daughter Kādambari died young he wrote most of his works in her name.[1] There is an image of Gauridigambara at Hajipur founded by him. He flourished during the reign of Mahārāja Rāghava Simha, and he must be placed in the 1st-half of the 19th century.[2]

GRAHEŚVARA MIŚRA.

His works are lost. But he is quoted twice in Candeśvara's Vivāda-ratnākara and no less than ten times in Varddhamāna's Daṇḍa-viveka.[3] He wrote a work on Vyavahāra which is named in the Daṇḍa-viveka of Candeśvara as Vyavahāra-taraṅga, and which probably formed part of a general digest. As he is called Miśra and as he is quoted by the Maithila writers, he has been taken as a Maithila.

Having been quoted by Candeśvara[4] as an authority his time must be earlier than fourteenth century A.D.

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[1] She must have been a pretty cultured young lady. It is said that his son was Raghunatha Upadhyāya.

[2] Cf. Appendix C.

[3] The Vivāda-ratnākara, Bib Ind. ed., pp. 46, 483; As. Soc. MS, of the Daṇḍa-viveka, pp. 44, 78, 88, 104, 105, 106 (3), 59 and 105 (व्यवहारतरङ्गे ग्रहेश्वर मिश्राः)

[4] Cf. p. 379 of the Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, 1901 edition.

HARAPATI UPĀDHYĀYA.

He is known as the author of the book called 'Mantra-pradipa,' which was composed under the order of Mahārāja Kansa Nārāyaṇa Lakṣmi Nātha. He was brother of Dhanapati Upādhyāya and son of Rucipati.

As brother of Dhanapati, he may be placed at the end of the 15th century.[1]

HARIHARA.

He was a brother of Nilakantha and wrote the Prabhāvati-parinaya Nātaka,[2] and may be placed in the 2nd-half of the 19th century.

HARIHAROPĀDHYĀYA.

He is known for his Bhṛtṛhari-nirveda-nātaka (a work on drama) which has been published in the "Kāvyamālā Sanskrit series" of Bombay.[3]

Aufrecht mentions one Harihar whom he calls a Maithila and brother of Nīlkaṅtha and to whom he ascribes the authorship of Prabhāvatipariṇaya-nātaka. It seems that the author of Bhṛtṛhari-nirveda-nātaka, and Prabhāvati-pariṇaya-nātaka was the same person.

Several other works are also attributed to him.[4] His time is not yet settled, but he seems to be quite a modern author and may be placed in the 18th century.

HARINĀTHOPĀDHYĀYA.

An important Smṛti writer noted for his work Smṛti-Sāya. His nationality is not yet settled, but several Maithilas have put him among the Maithilas and Vacaspati Miśra in his Vivāda-cintāmaṇi, Varddhamāṇa in his Daṇḍa viveka, etc., who are Maithils, have quoted his works as an authority, but it cannot be denied that several non-Maithila writers have also quoted him as an authority such as the Bengalee Sulapāṇi, in his Durg-otsava-viveka. He has referred to Gauṛa several times in his work. Therefore his Maithil nationality is not quite certain.

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1 Cf. Dhanapati.
2 Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 762 (b). 3 Cf N. 29.
4 Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 762, and Vol. III, p. 157.

His works are also quoted by Raghunandana and Kamalākara.[1]

He has referred to Harihara (who belonged to the 13th century) more than once. Sulapāṇi has referred to him and as Sulapāṇi is said to belong to the 15th century, our author lived between the 13th and the 15th centuries A.D. and may probably be put in the 2nd-half of the 14th century.[2]

HARṢA NĀTHA UPĀDHYĀYA.

He wrote Uṣaharaṇa Nāṭaka in mixed Sanskrit and Maithili and was patronised by Mahārājā Lakṣmiśvara Simha of Darbhanga. As a contemporary of Mahārājā Lakṣmeśvara Simha he may be placed towards the close of the 19th century.

HEMĀNGADA THAKKURA

He was son of Gopāla Thakkura and grandson of Maheśa Thakkurá.[3] He was a very famous astrologer. He has composed a book called "Grahaṇa Mālā"[4] which contains an account of solar and lunar eclipses for 1,000 future years. He may be placed in the 16th century.[5]

HṚDAYANĀTHA SARMĀN.

He is author of Nandi-mukhanirupaṇa and was a Maithila.[6] He belonged to the 19th century A.D.

INDRAPATI THAKKURA.

He is known for his Mimañsā-rasa-palvala, a book on Smṛti written for the ignorant of Mithila. It appears from

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[1] Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 758(*a*).

[2] A manuscript of Sraddha-viveka of Sulapāṇi dated the 1st Chaitra, 1451 Vikrama Samhat, corresponding to the English year 1394 A.D., written by Gunárnava Misra is in the possession of Paṇḍita Parmeswar Jha, Librarian to the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga. This shows that the composition might have been made some 50 or more years before that date because in those days work of a writer was considered authoritative by the people only after the author's death. This places Sulapaṇi at the beginning of the 14th century and Harināthopadhyāya at the middle of the 13th century.

[3] All this is based upon Mithilā Pañji and tradition.

[4] Cf. the first sloka at the beginning of Hemāñgada Thakkura's "Grahanamālā."

खण्डवलाकुल तरणोगोपालादापयं गौरी ।

हेमाङ्गदः सतनुतेपञ्चौ राज्ञपरागस्य ॥ ७ ॥

[5] Cf. Maheśa Thakkura.

[6] Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 767 (*b*).

this work that he was son of Rucipati and Rukminidevi and a pupil of Gopāla Bhatta. There was one Rucipati who commented upon Anargha-rāghava, under the patronage of the Mithila Ruler, Bhairava Simhadeva. He may be placed at the middle of the 15th century.[1]

JAGADDHARA.

He is author of the following works[2]:—

Devīmahātmyatīkā, Bhāgavadgitāpradīpā, Mālatimādhavatīkā, Rasadīpikā Meghadutatīkā, Tattvadīpinī Vasavadattatīkā, (quoted by Sivarama on Vasavadattā), Venisāmhāratīkā and Śārasvatikanthābharaṇatīkā.

Towards the close of his work[3] (Commentary on Beni-Samhāra Nātaka) he describes his family and traces his descent from the famous Mimānsā writer Candeśwara[4] who was removed from him by 5 degrees.

It is said that he was a Maithila Brāhmaṇa of Surganmoola and Parāsaragotra. It is also asserted by popular tradition that he was a Dharmādhikāraṇika (Superintendent of Religious Department) at the court of Mahārājā Dhira Simha.

As fifth in descent from Candeśwara, he may be placed about the 1st-half of the 15th century A.D.

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1 Cf. Dhanapati.

2 In his commentary on Beni-samhāra-nataka, he has descubed his literary eminence: -

येना पाठि कठोर गौतम् मतं वैशेपिकं खण्डनम्
येना आपि सकाव्य कोष निवद्धं तत्पाणिनीयं मतम्
छन्दो लंकरणं च ग्रुद्ध भरतं येन ध्यगायि स्थिरं
तेनामेन जगद्धरेण कपिना टीका कृत्यमसंदा ।

also cf. Aufrecht, Vol I, p. 195 and V. II, p. 39.

3 The following table will give his family connection :—

Mimānsaka Candeśwara
|
Vedadhara
|
Rāmadhara (Mimānsaka).
|
Gadadhara (Tantarika)
|
Vidyādhara
|
Ratnadhara
|
Jagaddhara.

His mother's name was Damayanti.

4 Cf. Candeś wara.

JAYADEVA MIŚRA.

It is evident from Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum,[1] that there have been several Jayadevas such as :—

(1) Jayadeva with the surname Pakṣadhara, pupil and nephew of Hari Miśra, paternal uncle of Baśudeva Miśra and Guru of Rucidatta Miśra and author of

- (i) Tattvacintāmaṇi-Ālok called also Cintāmaṇi Prakāśa or Manyāloka or Āloka, a commentary on Gaṅgeś' Tattva Cintāmaṇi in 4 khandas.
- (ii) Dravya Padārtha, a commentary (Dravya Kirṇāvali Prakāśa) of Vardhamāna.
- (iii) Nyāya Padārthamālā.
- (iv) Nyāya Līlāvatī viveka.

There are also 18 more works on Nyāya which are generally attributed to him :—

(1) Upanayālakṣaṇāloka, (2) Karakavada, (3) Tritīyacakravartilakṣaṇaloka, (4) Dvitīyasvalakṣaṇāloka, (5) Pakṣatāpurvapakṣagranthāloka, (6) Pakṣatasiddhāntagranthā loka, (7) Parāmarsasiddhāntagranthāloka, (8) Pratijñālakṣanāloka, (9) Prathamapragalbhalakṣanāloka, (10) Prathamasvalakṣaṇāloka, (11) Viruddhapurvapakṣagranthāloka, (12) Viruddhasiddhāntagranthāloka, (13) Viśeṣaniryuktyāloka, (14) Vyaptyānugamāloka, (15) Savyabhicārapurvapakṣagranthāloka, (16) Savyabhicārasiddhāntagranthāloka, (17) Samānyabhāvāloka, and (18) Hetulakṣaṇāloka.

(2) Jayadeva, with the surname Piyuṣavarṣa[2], son of Mahādeva and Sumitra and author of Candrāloka and Prasanna Rāghava.

(3) Jayadeva, son of Bhojadeva and Rāmādevi and author of Gitāgovinda. There are also several other authors named Jayadeva.[3]

Jayadeva number (3) is admittedly a Bengalee, but it is open to question if Jayadeva Nos. (1) and (2) are identical and Maithila. It appears from the internal as well as the external evidence, that they are not identical.

Both in the "Candrāloka" and the "Prasanna Rāg-

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[1] Cf. p. 200 of Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum, Vol. I, Leipzig, 1891.

[2] *His title of Piyuṣavarṣa is known from an sloka from the Candrāloka.*
चन्द्रालोकम मुंखयं वितनुते पीयूष वर्षः कृती ।

[3] Cf. p. 200, Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum, Vol. I. Leipzig, 1891.

hava" the author Jayadeva has mentioned the names of his parents who were Mahādeva and Sumitrā—Cf. Candrāloka, I, 16,[1] and Prasanna Rāghava,[2] p. 6.

The date of Jayadeva No. 2 is pretty certain. He has reproduced literally the definition of the figure *Vikalpa* given by Ruyyaka in his "Alaṅkāra Sarvaswa." Ruyyaka was Guru (teacher) of Mamkhaka, author of the Śrikantha Carita.[3] Mamkhaka lived under the king Jayapida of Kasmira, 1128–1149 A.D. Thus Ruyyaka lived at the beginning of the 12th century A.D.

Two verses[4] have been cited by Sāraṅgadhara from the Prasanna Rāghava in the Sāraṅgadhara Paddhati, which dates from 1463 A.D.[5]

It may be, therefore, safely assumed that Jayadeva, the author of Prasanna Rāghava and Candrāloka, lived between Ruyyaka and Sāraṅgadhara, i.e. between the 12th and the 14th century.

It is not certain if he was a Maithila for he does not say so in his works, nor is there any external evidence to establish his Maithila nationality. It may be incidentally mentioned that Jayadeva, the author of "Prasanna Rāghava" was a well-known poet, a fact which is supported by Tulasi Dāsa (the famous Hindi poet who lived in the

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[1] Bombay edition, 1914 :—

महादेवः सत्रप्रमुखमखविद्यैकचतुरः
सुमित्रा तद्भक्ति प्रणिहितमतिर्यस्य पितरौ ।
अनेनाऽसावाद्यः सुकविजयदेवेन रचिते ।
चिरं चन्द्रालोके सुखयतु मयूखः सुमनसः

[2] Calcutta edition, 1872 :—

सूत्रधारः । [सप्रणयकोपम्]
विलासो यद्वाचामसमरसनिष्यन्दमधुरः
कुरङ्गाक्षी विम्बाधरमधुरभावं गमयति ।
कवीन्द्रः कौण्डिन्यः स तव जयदेवः श्रवणयो-
रयासीदातिथ्यं न किमिह महादेव तनयः ॥
अपि च । लक्ष्मणस्येव यस्यास्य सुमित्राकुक्षिजन्मनः ।
रामचन्द्रपदाम्भोजे भ्रमद्भृङ्गायते मनः ॥

[3] Śrī Śrikantha Charita, Chap. XXV, 26, 13.
[4] Cf. Kalidasa Et, L'Art Poetique De Linde, p. 111, Paris, 1917.
[5] Cf. Sylvain Le'vi, Le theatre Indien, p. 281.

16th century A.D.) having borrowed certain ideas literally from his Prasanna Rāghava.[1]

But he seems to be quite different from Jayadeva who was a famous Nayyāyika and whose Guru (teacher) Hari-Miśra and whose well-known pupils Vasudeva and Ruci Datta are also well-known Nayyaikas. In none of his Nyāya works he has mentioned himself as Piyūṣavarsa or as writer of any poetical works or has mentioned his

[1] Cf.

Prasannarāghava, by Jayadeva Kavi, printed by Jivānanda-Bidyāsāgara Bhattachāryya, B.A., Sriramapura, 1872 edition :—

Page 5.

झटिति जगतीमागच्छन्त्याः पितामहविष्टपान्
महति पथि यो देव्या वाचः श्रमः समजायत ।
अपि कथममौ मुक्तोदेनं न चेदवगाहते
रघुपतिगुणग्राम श्लाघासुधामय दीर्घिकाम् ॥

Page 27.

नेद धनुश्चलति किंचिदपीन्दु मौलेः ।
कामातुरस्य वचसामिव सविधानै-
रभ्यर्थितं प्रकृतिचारु मनः सतीनाम् ॥

Page 127.

चन्द्रहास हर मे परितापं
रामचन्द्र विरहानल जातम् ।
त्व हि कान्ति जित मौक्तिकचूर्णं
धारया वहसि शीतलमम्भः ॥

Page 129.

अलमकरुण चेतः शीमन्ब शोकवनस्पते ।
स्तवनकणिकामेकां तावन् मम प्रकटीकुरु ॥
ननु विरहिणां संतापाय स्फुटीकुरुते भवान्
नव किसलय श्रेणीव्याजान् कृशानु शिखावलिम् ॥

Pages 132-33

हिमांशुश्चाण्डांशुर्नवजलधरो दावदहनः
मरि द्वीवीयातः कुपित फणिनिश्वासपवनः
नवा मल्ली भल्ली कुवलयवनं कुन्तगहनं ।
मम त्वद्विश्लेषात् सुमुखि । विपरीतं जगदिदम् ॥

Tulasi Dasa's Ramayaṇa, published by Prayāga Narāyaṇa Bhārgava, Lucknow edition, 1915.

Page 10.

भक्ति हेतु विधिभवन बिहाई ।
सुमिरत सारद आवत धाई ॥
राम चरित सर बिनु अन्हवाये ।
सो श्रम जायन कोटि उपाये ॥

Page 119 (Balakanda).

डिगै न शम्भु शरासन कैसे ।
कामी वचन सती मन जैसे ॥

Page 376 (Sundara Kānda.)

चन्द्रहास हरु मम परितापा ।
रघुपति विरह अनल संतापा ॥
शीतल निशि तव असिवरधारा ।
कह सिता हरु मम दुख भारा ॥

Page 377 (Sundara Kanda).

सुनहु विनय मम विटप अशोका ।
सत्यनामकरु हरु मम शोका ॥
नूतन किसलय अनल समाना ।
देहु अगिनिमम करहु निदाना ॥

Pages 378-79 (Sundara Kanda).

रामकहा वियोग तव सीता ।
मोकहु सकल भयउ विपरीता ॥
नूतन किसलय मनहु कृशानु ।
काल निशा सम निशिशशि भानु ॥
कुवलय विपिन कुन्तवन सरिसा ।
वारिद तप्त तेल जनु वरिसा ॥
जेहीतरु रहीं करत सो पीरा ।
उरग श्वास सम त्रिविध समीरा ॥

parents as Jayadeva No. 2, the author of Candrāloka and Prasanna Rāghava, has done, or has called himself or his relations Miśra.

It appears however, that the poet and dramatist Jayadeva,[1] author of the Prasanna Rāghava, was also a Nayyāyika, though his works on Nyāya are not stated either in Prasanna Rāghava or Chāndrāloka. This does not, however, point to the conclusion which has sometimes been drawn that Jayadeva No. 2 (the poet) was identical with Jayadeva No. 1 (Nayyāyika).

Jayadeva (No. 1) seems to be a Maithila. His uncle and teacher was Hari Misra[2] and his pupils were Vasudeva Misra[3] and Rucidatta Misra.[4] Now many of the Maithila families bear the surname of Misra and some of them claim their descent from Jayadeva No. (1) (Nayyayika) (a fact which is supported by their Panji or genealogical tables preserved in Mithilā) and though some Bengalees have claimed this Jayadeva to be a Bengalee, their claim appears to be baseless.

The Maithilas have a grand saying about him :—

शङ्कर वाचस्पत्योः समानौ शङ्करवाचस्पती भवतः ।
" पक्षधर प्रतिपक्षी लक्षी भूतो न चक्वापि " ॥

His ancient limit is fixed by Varddhamāna whose work he sub-commented upon. A copy of the Viṣṇu Purāṇ transcribed by him and found in the Darbhanga district, gives the date of its transcription Lakṣmaṇa Samvata 345[5] i.e. (1119+345)=1454 A.D. Popular tradition

[1] Cf. Jayadeva's Prasanna Rāghava by Jivananda Bidyāsāgara, Calcutta edition, 1872, p. 7 :—

येषां कोमल काव्यकौशलकला लीलावती भारती
तेषां कर्कशतर्क वक्रवचनोद्गारेऽपि किं हीयते ।
यैः कान्ताकुच मण्डले कररुहाः सानन्दमारोपिता
तैः किं मत्तकरीन्द्रकुम्भ शिखरे नारोपणीयाः शराः ॥

[2] But Jayadeva in his own work Cintāmaṇi-āloka, writes as follows :—

अधीत्य जयदेवेन हरिमिश्रात् पितृव्यतः तत्त्वचिन्तामणे रित्थमालोकोऽयं प्रकाश्यते ।

[3] Cf. Vasudeva Misra ; also Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum, Vol. I, 1903, p 567.

[4] Cf. Rucidatta Misra ; also Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 523.

[5] Cf. the sloka :—

वाणैर्वेद युतैः समभ्यनयनैः संख्या गते शायने ।
श्री मल्लोड मही भुजो गुरुदिने मार्गे च पक्षेसिते ॥

makes him a Guru (preceptor) of Dāmodara Thakkura, brother of Maheśa Thakkura, the founder of the Darbhangā Rāj during Akbar's reign (1556–1605). Also another tradition calls him a contemporary of Vidyāpati Thakkura. Thus he may be placed in the latter half of the 15th century A.D.[1]

JĪVANĀTHA JHĀ.

He was related to Nīlāmbara Jhā. His known works are :—

(i) Bhāvakutūhala,
(ii) Bhāva-prakāśa,[2]
(iii) Dikṣā-tattva-prakāśa-vanamāla,
(iv) Vasturatnāvali, and
(v) Janma-patri-bidhān.

Of these only Bhavakutuhal has been published. His style is modern. He may therefore be placed in the 18th century.

JYOTIRĪŚVARA KAVISEKHARACĀRYYA.

He was author of Varṇaṇa-ratnākara and Dhūrttasamāgama. The Varṇaṇa-ratnākara is written in Maithili language, but neither the characters nor the language can be properly distinguished from ancient Bengalee. The subject-matter of the boo is very curious. It gives the poetic conventions. For instance, if a king is to be described, what are to be his qualities, if a capital is to be described, what are to be the details, and so on. Sometimes the conventions are very amusing. I will give the description of a pimp ; she must be about hundred years old, with wrinkles all over her body, her hair as white as conch shell, her head high, her body without flesh, her cheeks all shrunken, her teeth all fallen. She must be a sister of

यद्यान्ता ममरावतीमधिवसन् या भूमि देवालया ।
श्रीमत्पक्षधरः सुपुस्तकमिदं प्रदं व्यलेखीद्भुतम् ॥

[1] Dr. R. L. Mitra (Notices V, p. 299, No. 1976) assigns the date Lakṣmaṇa Samvata 154=1270 to Pakṣadhara, but the date actually given in the manuscript (Pratyakṣa-āloka) is La. Sa. 1509 and Dr. Mitra drops the dot to assume La. Sa. 159 only. I don't think he has given sufficient reasons for adopting this course and for thinking that such insertion of dots to indicate decimal and centesimals figure are not uncommon. It looks as if the whole thing is doubtful.

[2] To be distinguished from the medical work Bhāva-prakāśa, by Bhāva Misra, c.. Aufrecht, Vol. III, p. 88(a) and from Bhava Prakasa on poetries by Sarada. Aufrecht. Vol. III, p 93(a).

Nārada (the god of quarrels) and an expert in bringing two persons together, and so on. This book seems to have guided the genius of Vidyāpati. As regards the antiquity of the work, the author is already well known from a MS. of Dhūrttasamāgama Nāṭaka in the Nepal Darbar Library. The Nāṭaka was composed by the same Jyotirīśvara Kaviśekhara during the reign of Harasiṃha Deva, the most important of the Karnatak Kings of Mithilā, whom Prof. Bendall places in or about 1324.[1] His Dhurttasamāgama Nāṭaka is said to have been recited on the occasion of Harasimha Deva's victory over the Muslims.

He may therefore be placed in the 1st half of the 14th century.[2]

KĀLIDĀSA.

Kālidāsa is the name given to the author of a short piece on metric Śrutabodha by name. It consists of 43 stanzas, every one of which illustrates a kind of verse and the beauty is that the definition is put in the form of a verse of the same name. A Maithila Paṇḍita of this name is borne out by the Maithila Pañji and Maithilas traditionally believe that he was author of Śrutabodha which is not much known beyond Mithilā. But as a matter of fact, quite a number of commentaries by non-Maithils, exist.

His time is not yet certain.

It is however difficult to ascertain whether the author of "Śrutabodha was really a Maithila. There have been several Kālidāsas, viz. :—

(1) Kālidāsa the author of—
- (i) Śakuntalā.
- (ii) Vikramorbaśi.
- (iii) Mālvikāgnimitra.
- (iv) Raghuvañśa.
- (v) Kumār Saṁbhava.
- (vi) Ṛtusamhāra.[3]

(2) Kālidāsa of Akbar's time.

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1 Cf. p. 23 of the Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts, 1895–1900 by H P. Sastri.

2 Cf. Prof. Bendall's History of Nepal and its surounding kingdoms J.A S B , Vol. LXXII, Part I, 1903.

3 Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 675 (b); Vol. II, p. 161(a) and Vol. III. p. 140(a).

(3) Kālidāsa Gaṇaka, author of the Śatruparājaya Svara-Sāstra sāra,
(4) Kālidāsa, son of Balabhadra, author of the Kuṇḍa-prabandhu.
(5) Kālidāsa, son of Rāmagobinda, author of the Tripura Sundaristuti kāvya.

And in addition to these names, there are also several other Abhīnava Kālidāsas.[1]

KEDĀRNĀTHA ŚARMĀ.

He was son of Paṇḍita Harihara Śarmma,[2] who lived in village Kataia in Darbhanga district.

He is an author of a small work written partly in prose and partly in poetry "Mithilā Barṇana" i.e. an account of Mithilā. Some satirical pieces regarding funny customs among the Maithila Brāhmaṇas are often quoted from this work.[3]

He is a modern writer and may be placed in the latter half of 19th century.

KEŚAVA MIŚRA.

He was son of Narahari Misra, who was son of Abhinava Vācaspati Miśra. Popular traditions assign him to a village Sagauna. He is said to have been the author of (1) Dvaita-Pariśiṣṭa, a supplement on Dvaita-nirṇaya of

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1 Cf. "Kalidasa" by Dr. Hari Chand Sastri, pages 1 and 2. Paris edition. 1917, and Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 99.

2 Cf. the final sloka

इति विदेहक भूमि निवासिना । हरिहराभिधभूसुर सूनुना ॥
विरचित मिथिला परिवर्णनम् । जनकजे परिशोधय सर्वतः ॥

वेदार्थापठन विरोधमधिकं म्लेच्छाष्टके पाचनम् ॥ इत्यादान मम पत्यवैवाहि कौयासभा मिथ्यादानविधिः ~मिश्रौधनवतां भिचाटनं मद्विदाम् ॥ यैर्निर्दोषगणैरिय बहुगुणागौड़ी कृतानूतनैः ॥ १ ॥

3 Cf sloka

केचित्पाणिग्रहणमधिकं कुर्वतेऽन्ये विमूढ़ाः, तेभ्यः कन्या ददति सुभगा बालिकां वृद्धकेभ्यः ॥ ब्राह्मणाम्प्रति कुलतैर्धद्विजनैः कालोऽपि नालोक्यते ॥ धिक्धिक् लौकिक जातिधर्मजगुणा एवाद्भुतामैथिलैः ।

Cf. also Mithileśa-carita (मिथिलेश चरित) a description of the manners and customs of Mithilā, its rulers, etc., communicated in the form of questions and answers, to Ramcandra Miśra, a Dravidian, by Ratna Mani (Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra Notices, Sanskrit MSS. No. 2023).

Vācaspati Miśra and (2) Tārkabhāṣa. The book Sañkhya-parimāṇa[1] is also attributed to him. He is to be distinguished from Keśava Miśra, the author of Alaṁkara Śekhara.[2]

It is said that he was minister of Mahārāja Rupa Nārāyaṇa Kāmabhadra and of his son Kansa Nārāyaṇa Lakṣminātha.[3]

In the light of what has been said about Abhinava Vācaśpati Miśra, he may be placed in the 2nd quarter of the 16th century.[4]

PAṆḌITA KHAGEŚ ŚARMMĀ.

He was author of (1) Kāśi Śiva-stuti, (2) Kāśyā-bhilāṣāśtaka. He lived in village Tabhakā near Narhan in Darbhanga district and is traditionally said to have been patronized by the landholders of Narhan.[5]

It appears from an account of this author by Paṇḍita Canda Jha in Kasi Śiva-stuti[6] that he lived during the time of Māhāraja Narendra Siṁha.[7] So he may be plâced in the latter half of the 18th century.

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[1] Cf. Sāmkhya Parimāna.

[2] Cf. Keśava Miśra, p. 28 (a). Aufrecht, Vol. III.—

Keśava Miśra the author of the Alamkaraśekhara, lived under Manikyacandra, son of Dharmacandra, grandson of Ramcandra A notice in Cunningham's Arch. Survey V, 160, states that Manikyacandra, son of Dharmacandra, came to the throne in Kangra in 1563. Keśava Miśra wrote also a Vakyaratna which in the Alamkaraśekhara is quoted twice.

[3] Cf. p.

[4] Pandita Parmeswara Jhā, Librarian to the Mahārāja Bahadur of Darbhanga has a manuscript of Keśava Miśra Cintāmaṇi-prakāśa which is dated La. Sam. 473, the end verse of which is as follows:—

इति सोदरपुरकुलसम्भूत महामहोपाध्याय श्रीरुचिदत्त विरचित तत्त्व चिन्तामणि प्रकाशः प्रत्यक्षपरिच्छेदः समाप्तः लसं ४७३ पाल्गीसं श्रीकेशवेन लिखितैषा प्रत्यक्ष मूल रुचिदत्तै ।

This La. Sam. 473=1592 A.D.

[5] Cf. the slokas by Paṇḍita Canda Jha (Kāśi Śiva-stuti,.

सर्वादित्यतनूजोपमा पुराऽभूत्पुरादित्यः । द्रोणान्वयेसखश्रया संवुभुजे सप्तरीराज्यम् ॥
नेपालावनिपालाश्नरपार्थे कुलंयुक्ते । शिष्टुरवशिष्टस्यैको गंगारामसखस्त्यरक्षितः ॥
तद्वंशीयानरहनिगगराधीशः क्रमेण सहसाः । एकोऽभूत्काशीशोन्दपवरवपखस्य दौहित्रः ॥
यामोयष्टमकाखोनरहनि निकटेस्तुधीवासः । तत्रैवास्यमहाथश्वसुरेः कृतिनः कवेस्सदनम् ॥
मिथिलायामाञ्जतास्तौता हूताद्भुता युक्तम् । इन्द्रपुरोहितयुता गोकुलनाथाश्च ये ख्याताः ॥
तेषां शिष्याश्चासन् पण्डितरत्नेषु वागीशाः तच्छात्रः कविरत्नजने खगेशेति विख्यात ॥
यौतौ नरेन्द्रसिंहान्मिथिलेशात्सत्कृतौ युगपत् । गुरुशिष्यौ गुरुविधौ सदवसरे मान्यसद्गुणैः ॥

[6] Cf. do. do.

[7] Cf. page

KRṢṆA ŚARMAN.

He was a Maithila of the Sañkarādhis family. He is author of Anvaya-lāpika-kumara-sambhava-tīkā and Raghubaṁśa tīkā. He is a modern writer and belonged to the 19th century A.D.

KRṢṆADATTA UPĀDHYĀYA.

He is known for several works such as Gīta-Gopi-pati and Candrikacarita and a commentary on Jaydeva's Gitagovind, called Sasilekha. He is undoubtedly a Maithila as will appear from the śloka of Gita-Gopi-pati :—

"मैथिल कृष्णभणित मिति माधवचरणयुगल
सुपनीतम् । सखि हे कृष्णमनुपम् भासम्" ।

Harṣanātha Upādhyāya has translated this work and his introductory śloka will settle Kṛṣṇadatta's time.

चण्डी पदाम्भोजयुगं प्रणम्य श्रीहर्ष नाथो लघुभिर्वचोभिः ।
खमाष्टमातामह्मातुलेन कृतं प्रबन्धं विशदी करोमि ।

Harṣanātha is said to have been a Paṇḍita with the late Mahārāja Lakṣmeswara Simha of Darbhanga. Thus Kṛṣṇadatta may be placed at the beginning of the 19th century.[1]

LAKṢMIDHARA UPĀDHYĀYA.

He was son of Biśweśwara Miśra and Lakhimā Thakkurāni who is said to be daughter of Acyuta Thakkura. I have not come across any authentic list of his works, but he is identified by some Maithila Paṇḍitas with the author of the treatise on Smṛti called Kalpa-Taru consisting of Kṛtya-kalpa-taru, Vivāda-Kalpa-Taru and Vyavahāra-kalpa-taru and quoted by Hemadri in Dana Khaṇḍa by Śūlāpāṇi, by Varddhamāna, by Mitra Miśra and by Vācaspati Miśra, etc. This is however more than doubtful as the author of the Kalpataru belongs to a much earlier period. As son of Viśweśwara, Lakṣmidhara may be placed in the second-half of the 17th century A.D.

[1] Cf. Appendix C.

LAKṢMĪPATI UPĀDHYĀYA.

He is the writer of Śrāddharatnam, a book on general ceremonies for the Sāmavedins and Vajasaneyins.[1] A copy of Udayana's Tātparyya-pariśuddhi was made by his order in La-Sam 339 or the year 1458 A.D.[2] He names Indrapati as his guru. Lakṣmīpati may in the circumstances be placed in the 1st half of the 15th century.[3]

LOCHAN KAVI.

He is author of "Rāgatarangiṇī" (i.e. a treatise on music), which is said to have been composed[4] at the instance of Rājā Mahinātha Thakkura of Darbhanga. In this book he also gives an account of Darbhanga Rāj family. A copy of Naiṣadha Charitra copied by him on palm leaves (at village Raiyāma) in Śaka year 1603 is available in the Darbhanga Rāj library. As he was a contemporary of Mahinātha Thakkura, he may be placed in the 2nd half of the 17th century.

MACALA UPĀDHYĀYA.

He was brother of Acala Upādhyāya and lived in the old village of Magrauni in the Darbhanga district. He is credited with the authorship of "Satrañja-Prabandha."[5] The age cannot be accurately stated, but it is said he belonged to the 2nd half of the 18th century.

MADHUSŪDANA.

He was son of Narasimha, grandson of Nageśwara of Mandavagrāma. He had three brothers Govinda, Narahari and Vāmadeva and he wrote under King Dhira Simha

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1 Cf. Mitrā, Notices, VI, p. 52, No. 2036.

2 Cf. Nepal MSS. notices, p. 31.

3 Cf. Indrapati.

4 Cf. the 8th and 9th slokas in the Raga-Tarangini :—

यो जागर्ति महीतले निरुपमः सर्वासु पुंसा कलास्वासन्नेषु च कल्पपादपमदानन्दाय यो नित्यशः। तस्य श्रीन्द्रपसुन्दरात्मज महीनाथानुजस्याज्ञया विप्रः कोऽपि सुवंशजो नरपते कीर्तिं तनोति प्रियाम् ॥ ८ ॥

किञ्चित्समाहृत्य कुताश्चिदन्यत्स्वयञ्च सम्पाद्य पद्प्रबन्धान्। वितन्यते लोचननामधेयद्विजेन सा रागतरङ्गिणीयम् ॥ ९ ॥

5 i.e. a treatise on chess.

of Tribhukti (Tirhut) his astronomical work, Jyotiṣapradipāṅkura.[1]

As a contemporary of Dhira Siṁha,[2] he may be placed in the 1st half of the 15th century A.D.

MADHUSŪDANA THAKKURA.

He is known for his works Tattva-cintāmani-āloka Kantakoddhāra and Dwaita Nirnanya Jirnoddhāra and Samaya Pradipa Jirnoddhara, which is a commentary on Samaya-pradipa by Sridattopādhyāya, Anyathā khyati kantakoddhāra. The prevailing tradition in Mithilā which is backed up by Maithila Pañji calls him son of Govinda Thakkura. A manuscript of his Tattva-cintāmaṇi-ālokakantakoddhāra has been found cir. La. Sāmvata 491 or 1610 A.D.[3]

Surely he is later than Vācāṣpati Miśra on whose Dvaita-nirṇaya he wrote another Kantakoddhāra.[4] He, therefore, lived before 1610 A.D.

MAHEŚA THAKKURA.

He is known for his commentary Tattvacintāmaṇi, Āloka-darpaṇa or the mirror of the light, on a commentary of Jayadeva on Gangeśa's work. Aloka-darpaṇ has been much praised in Sankara Miśra's Tri-sūtri-vyākhyā.[5]

He is also accredited with the authorship of (1) Tithitatva Cintāmani, (2) Malamāsa Sārinī and (3) Sarvadeśavrittānta-Saṁgraha.

Popular tradition also ascribes to him two other books, viz.: (1) Dāyasāra—a treatise on law of inheritance and (2) Aticārādi-nirṇaya.

Maheśa Thakkura's brothers were Mahadeva, Bhāgiratha, Dāmodara and Viṣṇu. He was highly respected by the king.[6]

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[1] Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. II, p. 97 (*b*). [2] Cf. Dhira Simha. [3] Cf. यत्रो राम कनीयसोऽवनिपतेः श्रीमां सुमन्दाम्बुधा वंके फाल्गुन सप्तमी रवि दिने गङ्गा गहे प्रार्थकः इत्यादि।

[4] Cf. Vacāspati Miśra.

[5]

प्रकाशदर्पणोद्योत कृद्धि र्व्याख्या सतोज्ज्वला । १ ।

तथापि योजना साच सुद्धिश्यार्थं ममोद्यमः । २ ।

[6] The following slokas are taken from the Anumanaloka-darpana (Ind. Off. Cat., p. 631, No. 1389, and verses 1 and 2) which will show his family connections:

Gopāla Thakkura and Acyuta Thakkura are known to be sons of Maheśa Thakkura.

The time of the Āloka Darpaṇa therefore lies between that of Jayadeva and Saṅkara Miśra or between 1250 and 1450 A.D. Maheśa Thakkura may be placed in the last quarter of the 14th century.

But this goes against the popular tradition which makes this Maheśa Thakkura the grantee of the Darbhanga Rāja from King Akbar This would place Maheśa Thakkura and his brother, Bhagiratha in the 2nd half of the 16th century.[1]

It may, however, also be said that Maheśa Thakkura, the founder of the Darbhanga Rāja family was author of at least the work Sarvadeśa Vritttānta Saṁgraha in which he gives an account of Akbar's family or a part of his reign[2] and surely lived in the second-half of the 16th century A.D. This may make the author of the Tattva Cintāmaṇi Ālokadarpaṇa quite different from Maheśa Thakkura, the founder of the Darbhanga Rāja family.

MANDANA MIŚRA.

He is also called Suresvarācāryya. He is the author of (1) Kāśimokṣa Nirṇaya; (2) Taittirīya Śruti Varttika; (3) Naiśkarmya Siddhi; (4) Pañcikarana Varttiki; (5) Vrihadāranyakoparinisada Varttikā; (6) Brahma Siddhi; (7) Brahma Sutra Vāṣyavarttika; (8) Vidhiviveka or Bhavanā viveka; (9) Manasollāsa or Daksiṇa Mūrti Śtotra Varttika; (10) Laghuvarttikā; (11) Varttikāsāra and (12) Varttikāsāra Saṁgraha.

The Maithils call him a Maithila and get over the admitted accounts of his having been in the Central Provinces by saying that he had emigrated from Mithilā. But he has nowhere stated or hinted that he was a Maithila and his Maithila nationality is very doubtful.

जनकविषय जन्मा राजसम्मानपात्रं माहे + + + + धीरा धन्यपत्योस्तनुजः। चर चयद् गुभा ना लोकमाश्रित्य नित्यप्रमथित स्वस्त दर्पौं दर्पणं श्री महेशः ॥ १ ॥

ज्येष्टा महादेव भगीरथ दामोदरा यस्य वयोगणाभ्याम्। (स) दर्पण निर्मित वानसौधां सहोदरे विष्णुपदी महेशः ॥ २ ॥

1 Cf. Account of Maheśa Thakkura in Appendix C.

2 Cf. India Office Catalogue, Vol. VII, p. 1573, No. 4106.

Maithilas however quote from the Sāmavata Nātaka to show that he was a Maithila.

" आखण्डलः पण्डितमण्डलीषु
यत्राभवन्मण्डनमिश्रनामा ।
आर्या तु भार्य्याऽपि सतीयदीया
समध्यगच्छत्सकलं हि शास्त्रम् ॥"

But the Nātaka is of recent date and the statement in it that Mandan Misra was a Maithila, might refer to some other Mandan Misra or might be based upon some popular tradition and cannot count as an authority.

Also the Maithilas identify Mahismatipur (as in the sloke below) where he is said in the "Sankar Digvijaya" to have lived with a village Mahisi in Darbhanga district, but this is again without any strong foundation especially in absence of strong local traditions and as "Mahismati" is authoritatively identified with some place in the Maharastra Country.

" अथ प्रसस्थे भगवान् × × × × × × × × × ।
स्वस्त्यापुरमाल्लुलोक माहिष्मती मण्डनमण्डितां सः ॥"

He was a contemporary of the famous Śamkarācāryya who lived in the first-half of the 9th century A.D. and so he may be placed in the first-half of the 9th century A.D.

MIŚARU MIŚRA.

He wrote several books on Smṛti. His works are :—

(1) The Vivāda-candra, dealing with Vivāda and Vyavahāra.
(2) The Padārtha-candra, on the categories according to the Vaiśeṣiko-nyāya system.

He dedicated his works to Lachimādevi, wife of Candra Simha, a brother of Bhairava Simha[1] Deva. He

[1] Cf. Jolly's Tagore Law Lectures, 1883, p. 27. "In the 14th century, Queen Lachimādevi of Mithilā (Tirhut) composed the Vivāda-candra, the quotations of which from the named later authorities are as follows :—

Pārijāta (1)	Ratn-ākara-kṛta (1).
Balarupa (1).	Vyavahāra-tilaka (1).
Bhavadeva (2).	(Smṛyti-maharnava-)Prakāsā (1).
Ratn-ākara (10)	Smṛti-sāra (7).

can therefore be safely placed about the middle of the 15th century.A D.

MUKTEŚWARA JHĀ.

He is said to have written a book on the rituals "Pujā Patala" under the direction of Raja Maheśwara Simha.[1] He certainly lived in the 2nd half of the 19th century.

MURĀRI MIŚRA.

He is son of Vardhamāna and Tantu Mati Debī and of the Maudgalya-gotra and author of Anargha Rāghava Nātaka (drama). There is a tradition that he was a Maithila, but the point is more than doubtful.

Several commentaries have been discovered on the *Anargha Rāghava* and as the best of them is by Rucipati[2] who was certainly a Maithila, Murāri is also looked upon by the Maithilas as a Maithila But the book is most popular and widely read in Cashmere and he is mentioned by Rajanaka Ratnākara in his book "Haravijaya"-(38—67)[3] and it looks as if he was well known in Cashmere in Ratnākara's time.

He is different from Murāri,[4] son of Rudra Sarmma, the author of Śuddhi Nibandha; and from Murāri the author of Gobhilagrihya Subhā Karma[5] Nirnaya.

In the introduction[6] to his Anargha Rāghava it is said that the audience were terrified by the representation

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Dr. Rajendra Lal Mittra's Notices on Sanskrit Literature, IX, 12, No 2901, introd. verse 2 may be consulted.

श्रीचन्द्र सिंह नृपतेर्दयिता लछिमा महादेवी ॥
रचयति पदार्थ चन्द्रं मिसरू मिश्रोपदेशेन ॥ २ ॥

[1] Cf. Maheśwara Simha.
[2] Cf. Rucipati.
[3] Cf. Rucipati,
[4] Cf. Anargharāghava, p. 1, Bombay, 1894 edition:—

"अङ्केत्था (अङ्केऽथ) नाटक इवोपगमनायकस्य नाम्नं कविर्व्यधित यस्य मुरारिरित्थम्। आक्रान्तलोकभुवनः क्वगतः स दैत्यनाथो हिरण्यकशिपुः सह बन्धुभिर्वः ॥

[5] Cf. Murāri.

[6] Cf. Anargharāghava, p. 6, Bombay, 1894 edition.

सूत्रधारः— अलमतिविस्तरेण। भो भो लवणोदवेलावनालीतमाल तलकन्दलस्य त्रिभुवन मौलिमण्डन महानीलमणेः कमलाकुचकलशकेलिकस्तूरिकापत्राङ्कुरस्य भगवतः पुरुषोत्तमस्य यात्रायामुपस्थानीयाः सभासदः कुतश्चिद्द्वीपादागतेन कलहकन्दलनाम्ना कुशीलवेन रौद्र बीभत्सभयानकाद्भुतरसभूयिष्ठं कमपि प्रबन्धमभिनयता नित्यं खिलायमुद्वेजितो लोकः ॥

of a play which was full of sentiments of anger, terror and disgust and probably the reference is to Bhavabhuti's plays such as Mahābira Caritam and Mālati Mādhava. Accordingly his work was meant to remove the unpleasant feelings of the audience The plot is made up of the story of Rāma and owing to the eloquence of the narration, he has been named Bāla-Vālmiki.[1] The play has no dramatic beauty, and it is more fit for the hall than for the stage. His diction is inscrutable and his ideas are far fetched and in most cases unnatural Any how he shows himself a master of scholarly reading and ready vocabulary. Viewed as classic poetry, his work finds a middle place in the pantheon.

As Ratnākara flourished at the court of Avanti Varmān, king of Cashmere (855-884 A.D.) Murāri surely lived before the latter half of the 9th century A.D. But as he appears to have lived after Bhavabhuti[2] who belongs to about the middle of the 8th century A.D., Murāri may be placed in the latter part of the 8th century or at the beginning of the 9th century A.D.

MURĀRI MIŚRA

He was the author of the Smṛti work Suddhinibandha. Murāri's father was Rudra Śarmā, the son of Harihara, the chief justice of Deva Simha, who sat on the same throne with the king. His father Jayadhara Ladha was the chief justice of Bhavasimha. The colophon of this work is rather curious. It says "Kosiśvara Kṛta Suddhipradipikā Samāpta." The name of the author and the work are both different from those given in the text.[3] As his grandfather was a contemporary of Deva Simha,[4] he

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[1] Cf. the following ślokas often quoted in praise of Murari.

देवीं वाचमुपासते हि बहवः सारं तु सारस्वतं जानीते नितरामसौ गुरुकुलक्लिष्टो मुरारिः कविः। अब्धिर्लङ्घित एव वानरभटैः किं त्वस्य गम्भीरतामापातालनिमग्नपीवरतनुर्जानीते मन्थाचलः ॥ १ ॥ मुरारिपदचिन्ता चेत्तदा माघे मतिं कुरु ॥ मुरारिपदचिन्ता चेत्तदा माघे मतिं कुरु ॥ २ ॥ मुरारिपदचिन्तायां भवभूतेस्तु का कथा। भवभूतिं परित्यज्य मुरारिं मुररीकुरु ॥ ३ ॥ भवभूतिमनादृत्य निर्वाणमतिना मया। मुरारिपदचिन्तायामिदमाधीयते मनः ॥

[2] Cf. V. S. Apte's Practical Sanskrit English Dictionary, Bombay, 1890, p. 1044.

[3] Cf. p. 15 of the Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts, 1895-1900 by H P. Sastri.

[4] Cf. Deva Simhā.

may be placed two generations later than Deva Simha and must have lived in the 3rd quarter of the 15th century A.D.

MURĀRI MIŚRA.

He was a son of Kṛṣṇa Miśra [1] and student of Keśava Miśra and Rāma Bhadra. He is known for his book : [2]

(1) Srāddha-kalpa-tikā.
(2) Gobhila-gṛhya-sutra-sabhā-karma-nirṇaya.
(3) Istikālanirṇaya
(4) Parvanirṇaya.
(5) Śubhakarmanirṇaya, written under king Trivikramanārāyaṇa.
(6) Bhāṣya on the mantras in Pāraskargrihya Sutra.
(7) Prāyascittamanohara.

He was a Maithila Brāhmaṇa of Sāndila-gotra and of Sodarapuriya-moola.[3] He was serving under Mahārāja Trivikrama Nārāyaṇa, king of Morang (now in Nepal).

As student of Keśava Miśra, he may be placed in the second quarter of the 16th century.

He must be distinguished from Murāri, the author of Anargha-raghava.

NARAHARI.

He was son of Narasimha and grandson of Ganesa of Mithilā. He is known for his work Narapati-jayacarya-tīkā. His time is not yet certain.

NARAHARI MIŚRA.

He was son of Vācaspati Miśra (Abhinava). He is known for his commentary on *Swarodaya*, an astrological work. As son of Abhinava Vācaspati Miśra,[4] he may be placed at the beginning of the 16th century.

He must be distinguished from Narahari Upādhyāya [5] son of Yajñapati and grandson of Bateśwara.

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[1] Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 462 (a).
[2] Cf. do do.
[3] As evidenced by Panji.
[4] Cf. Abhinava Vācaspati Miśra.
[5] Cf. Narahari. Upādhyāya.

NARAHARI UPĀDHYĀYA

He is a famous writer on Nyāya and author of "Dwaita-Nirṇaya" and Anumanakhanda-dusanoddhāra and Tattva-cintāmani.[1] It appears from his work that he was son of Yajñapati (writer of 'Prabhā') grandson of Śivapati and great-grandson of Paśupati and Bateśwara. He is to be distinguished from Narahari, son of Vācaṣpati Miśra, as he calls himself great-grandson of Bateśwara and has often criticised Vācāṣpati.

According to popular tradition he was a Maithila Brāhmaṇa of *Mandara-mool* and of *Kaśyapa-gotra*. His time has not yet been settled. But as his father's great-grandfather flourished during the time of Mahārāja Bhairava Siṁha,[2] he may be placed in the middle of the 15th century.[3]

PAṆḌITA NARAPATI JHĀ.

He is traditionally believed to have lived at village Tarauni in the Darbhanga district. He is famous for his erudite knowledge of Vyākaraṇa and Sāhitya. His brother's name is said to have been Paṇḍita Gaṇapati Jhā. He is still remembered for his works[4]:—

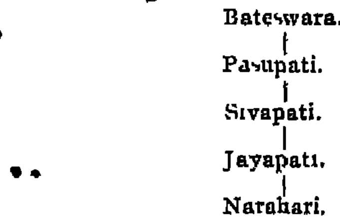
(1) Gopi-Vallabha Kāvya, and
(2) Rāghavakīrti-sataka.

in which he describes the time of Mahārāja Rāghava Siṁha of Darbhanga and his predecessor.

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[1] Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 279 (*a*) and Vol II, p. 60 (*b*). [2] Cf Bhairava Simha.

[3] The table based upon the account given at the end of the book "Dvaita Nirṇaya" by M. M. Permeswara Jha of Darbhanga, Samvat, 1964 edition, is useful to some extent in determining his time:—



It is traditionally said that Bateswara's daughter's son was Ayaci Bhavanatha Miśra, who flourished in the 1st half of the 15th century—Cf. Bhavanātha and his grandson was Śivapati, whose time also falls in the 1st half of the 15th century. As Narahari was grandson of Śivapati there is no dispute regarding his time.

[4] These manuscripts are in possession of Paṇḍita Parmeśwara Jhā, Librarian to the Mahārāja Bahadur of Darbhanga

Rāghava-kīrti-sataka would show that the author lived in the court of Rājā Raghu Siṁha. So he may be placed towards the close of the 18th century.[1]

PAṆḌITA NILĀMBARA JHĀ.

He is the author of the astrological work Gola-prakāsa. It appears that he migrated to and settled in Patna. It appears that he lived during the reign of Maharāja Śivadāna Simha of Alawar estate in Rajputanā. He is reputed to have written several books. In the final colophon, he calls himself a Maithila. He may be placed in the 19th century.

PADMANĀBHA DATTA.

He belongs to a renowned and long line of Maithila Brāhmaṇas (scholars) and is noted for his famous Vyākaraṇa "Supadma." This grammar is very popular in Central Bengal. From his genealogical account given at the end of the Supadmavyākaraṇa[2] it appears that he was son of Dāmodara Miśra.

Dāmodara is author of a book (Vāṇibhuṣaṇa) where he says दीर्घ घोषकुलोत्पन्न दामोदर इति श्रुतः

On the basis of this the Maithilas say that he belonged to what they call Deeghavaimool section of the Maithila Brāhmaṇas.[3] But it is still open to question whether Dāmodara, the author of Vāṇibhuṣaṇa, was the

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[1] Paṇḍita Parmeśwara Jhā is the 5th in descent from Narapati Jhā. He tells me that Narapati Jhā and his brother Gaṇapati Jha lived for some time at the court of the Nawab of Patna. Many villages were granted to them in Saran district by the Nawab. But these villages are not now in possession of their descendants.

[2] As for the genealogy of Padmanabha Misra, please, Cf. the final slokas of Supadma (Vyakarna) from which it appears that Balaharuci Misra, Vyasadatta Misra, Durghatta Misra, Jayaditya Misra mimansa, Sripati Misra, Ganesvara Misra, Bhanot Misra, Halayudha Misra, Sridatta Misra, Bhavadatta Misra Damodara Misra, Padmanabha Misra all belonged to one family.

[3] Cf. the final colophon of Vanibhusana :—

इति मैथिल दीर्घ घोष कुलोद्भूत दामोदर मिश्र विरचित वाणीभूषणं समाप्तम् ॥

नत्वा श्री श्री निवासं प्रणत जन मनः शङ्कु संहार कालम् । भीतं दृष्ट्वारि कंसादिकगणं मनिशं च्यायमास सुरेशम् ॥ पाणिन्यादिप्रणीतान्यतिविमलधियां शब्दशास्त्राणि दृष्ट्वा । पूर्णंयुक्तं सदर्थावगमनगुरुमाविस्कृतं तूर्णं मेतत् ॥ दिङ् मात्रं दर्शितं किन्तु सकलार्थं विकाशनम् ।

same person as the father of the author of Supadma Vyākaraṇa. But as he and his ancestors have been called Miśras in the Supadma and as the Bengali Panditas have never been called Miśras it may be taken that he was a Maithila rather than a Bengali.

He gives a list of his books in the last few slokas of Supadma including (1) Supadma Grammar and Pañjika, (2) Prayogadīpika, (3) Uṇādivṛtti, (4) Dhatukaumudī, (5) Yanlugvṛtti, (6) Gopālacarita, (7) Ānandalaharitikā, (8) Śiśupālabadhatīka, (9) Chandoratna, (10) Ācāracandrikā and (11) Bhūriprayoga.

His time is certain, i.e. he lived in the 2nd half of the 14th century as will appear from a śloka of his Prasodarādivṛtti, a part of his Uṇ-ādi-vṛtti, which his śloka says he composed in the Sāka year 1297, i.e. 1375 A.D.[1]

PADMA NĀBHA MIŚRA.

He was Naiyāyika. He was son of Balabhadra Miśra and brother of Biśwanātha Miśra. The Māithila Pañjis mention his family.

His works are :—

(1) Rāddhānta-muktāhāra or Siddhānta muktāhara;
(2) Cintā-maṇi-parikṣā;
(3) Bhāskara tikā of Udayanā's Kirṇāwali; and
(4) Rāddhānta muktāhāra vyākhyā kaṇāda rahasya.

धैर्य्यावधेय धीराः श्रीपद्मनाभ निवेदितम् उक्तो व्याकरणादर्शः सुपद्मस्यास्य पञ्चिका। ततोपि बालबोधाय प्रयोगाणाञ्च दीपिका। उणादि वृत्तिरचिता तथाच धातु कौमुदी। तथैव यङ्लुकोवृत्तिः परिभाषा ततः परम्। आनन्दलहरीटीकामृतावाधार चन्द्रिका॥ कोषे भूमि प्रयोगाख्यो रचितस्तात यत्नतः। धीराः श्रीपद्मनाभेन रच्यते ग्रथमञ्जलिः। मस्कार्य्यं प्रतिपाल्याथ पुत्र धर्म्मपुस्तिका।

[1] Cf. H. P Sastri, Notices, Vol. I, p. 325, No. 228, and verse 10:—

शाके शैल न वादित्ये चैत्रे मासे रवेः स्थितौ।
द्विजेन पद्मनाभेन भाषा वृत्तमिदं कृतम्॥

[2] Cf. Final slokas of Bhāskara tīka:—

श्रीविश्वनाथानुज ....गरीयान् बलभद्रजन्मा। तनोति तर्कानधिगत्य सर्वान् श्रीपद्मनाभो विदुषां विनोदम्॥

He lived after Varddhamāṇa[1] and is traditionally assigned to the 17th century A D.

PARASURĀMA JHĀ.

He was a student of Raghudeva Mīsrā He was a good Nayyāyika and Dharmaśastrika Paṇḍita. It is traditionally said that he lived in village Jagili (in Purnea district) where he had written many valuable Sanskṛta books on palm leaves which are even now in possession of Paṇḍita Parameśwara Jhā, Librarian to the Mahārāja Bahadur of Darbhanga, who is said to be seventh in descent from him. His work Śataśastra-sāmvāda is a useful composition.[3] As a student of Raghudeva Misra, he belongs to the 2nd half of the 17th century.

PĀRTHASĀRATHI MIŚRA.

He was a son of Yajñātman Miśrā,[4] and author of:—

Tantraratna.
Nyāyaratnamālā.
Nyāyaratnākara.
Śāstradīpikā.

He is called a Maithila. The Paṇḍitas of Mithilā regard him as Maithila and even point to some individuals

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1 Cf. the ślokas (at the beginning of Kirnāvalitika).

उपदिष्टा गुरुचरणोरस्पृष्टा वर्धमानेन ।

किरणावल्यामर्थास्तन्यते पद्मनाभेन ॥

2 Cf. the final sentence in Vācāspati Miśra's Vyavahāra Cintāmani copied by Parasurama.

यत्र पल्लीग्रामे महामहोपाध्याय श्रीरघुदेव सरस्वती नामाज्ञया श्रीपरशुराम शर्मणा लिखितमिदं पुस्तकम् ॥

शाके १५३७ (i.e. 1615. A.D.)

3 This has not yet been published. The manuscript is in possession of M.M. Parmesvara Jha of Darbhanga.

4 Cf. the śloka No. 43 in the Prayuktitilaka of Nyāya ratnamālā (Benares) 1900 edition: –

आचार्यमतमाश्रित्य श्रीमद्यज्ञात्मसूनुना ।

पार्थसारथि मिश्रेण प्रयुक्ति तिलकः कृतः ॥ ४३ ॥

descended from him. But apart from the fact that he was called a Miśra (a surname found in Mithila though not peculiar to it), and that he was a writer on Mimamsa, there is nothing else to connect him with Mithilā His age is uncertain.

PRADYUMNA

He commented upon Jyotiṣa-Ratnāvali by Sudhakara. He has paid tribute to Bhairava[1] Simha in his Jyotiṣa ratnāvāli, and it follows that he was either a contemporary of Bhairava Simha or he lived soon after his age. He may, therefore, be placed in the 1st half of the 16th century.

PRAJNĀKARA.

He was the son of Vidyākara and grandson of Miśra Anandakaraswāmi. He was the author of Subodhani Nalodayatikā. He was a Maithila.[2] His time is not certain.

PREMANIDHI THAKKURA.

He was a writer on Smṛti. He was the author of Dharmm-ādharmma-prabodhinī, which consists of 12 chapters. He calls himself son of Indrapati. It appears that he completed his works in Samvat 1410 and that he lived under the Nizam Sahi Rule.[4] The Nizam Sahi dynasty ruled towards the end of the 15th century and thus he may be placed at the end of the same century. Evidently the Samvat referred to by Premanidhi was Sākā and not Vikrama Samvat. (Saka 1410 = 1488 A.D.)

PURUŚOTTAMA DEVĀ.

He is traditionally known to have been Maithila though his Maithila nationality is very doubtful and no internal or external evidence is available. He is the

[1] A copy of the Jy. Ratnāvali with a commentary exists in the Nepal Raj library at Khatmandoo. Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. 1, page 492.

[2] Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. II, p. 77b.

[3] Aufrecht calls him and his father Maithili.

[4] Premanidhi says that his family lived at Mahiṣmati in Srimad Ray Nizam Shaha-Visayaṣ, i.e. in the Maratha Country under the Nizam Shahi kings.

author of the lexicon "Trikāndaśeṣa" composed in the 12th or 13th century A.D.[1] under king "Dhrti Simha."[2] Trikāndaśeṣa is the first Sanskṛta koṣa to name "Tirhut."

Other works popularly attributed to Purusottama Deva or Gajapati Puruṣottama-deva include: (1) Nāmamālikā, a book on prayer, (2) Hārāvali, (3) Mukti-cintāmaṇi and (4) Durgotsava[3] and (5) Bhāṣavṛtti.[4] But it is doubtful if the author of the works was identical with the author of Trikāndaśeṣa or that he was a Maithila

RAGHUDEVA MIŚRA (SĀRASWATA).

He was a Maithila Brāhmaṇa of Hariyamaya-mool and of Vatsya-gotra. He was son of Viṣṇu Miśra and a daughter's son of Acyuta Thakkura who was a son of Maheśa Thakkura. He is said to have been a Naiyāyika and a good poet He was the author of a work called Virudāvali.[5] Sultan Shahjahan being pleased with his learning conferrred upon him the title of Sāraswata and gave him many valuable prizes[6] He may be placed in the 2nd half of the 17th century.

PAṆḌITA RAGHUDEVA JHĀ.

He is known for his "Pañji-prabandha" compiled under the orders of Rāja Hari Simha Deva and queen

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[1] Macdonald's Sanskrit Literatue, page 433, 1905.

[2] Cf Krishnamācārya's History of the Classical Sanskrit Literature, 1st edition, page 179. In the Hāiāvali he calls himself contemporaiy of Janmejaya and Dhṛti Simha It is not known who this Dhritı Sımha was and where he reigned (Cf. Aufrecht, Vol 1, p. 342 (*a*)).

[3] Cf. page 10 of the Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscript by H. P. Sastri, 1906-07 to 1910-11

[4] Cf preface to Bhaṣavritti, Siisa Candia Cakravarty, Rajshahi edition 1918.

[5] श्रीविश्वेश्वरः मिश्रतः कुमुदिनी देवी कुमारं कुलालङ्कार समवाप यं गणपतिं गौरीगिरी साद्रिव ॥ दौहित्रोऽच्युत ठक्कुरस्य कृतिनः श्रीहारितावान्वयः श्रेष्ठोसौ रघुदेव वालक कविर्वैदेह भूमण्डनः ॥ १ ॥

विद्याहृद्य सुखं महीपतिमथ श्रीवुद्धिनाथं ततो लक्ष्मीदेव कुलाधिदेव महितं श्रीमोहन मोहनम् ॥ नत्वा श्रीहरिदेव देव जनुषाश्रेष्ठं वयोभिर्गुणैः कालेमां विरुदावलीमिह सदानन्द ज्जुणैव्यसवान् ॥ २ ॥

[6] Tradition.

Lakṣmidevī. The occasion was a marriage ceremony of two Maithil Brahmans within forbidden limits The 1st śloka of the "Pañji-prabandha" gives his date (1216 Saka) and so he may be placed at the end of the 13th century[1] A.D.

RĀJAŚEKHARA

Rājaśekhara lived near Patna His Prabandhakośa is a collection of half-historical tales and biographies in barbarous Sanskrit prose, the style resembling that of the Pancatantra. All his information was obtained from his teacher Tilakasūrī, and the work was finished at Delhi in Samvat 1408 (1348 A.D.) His patron was Madanasimha, the son of Jayasimha, an intimate favourite of Muhammad Toghlak Shah.

He belonged to the 14th century and is traditionally said to have been a Maithila. But his Maithila nationality is seriously open to question and no satisfactory evidence is available on this point.

He is to be distinguished from his name-sake, Rajaśekhara, the author of the Sanskrit dramas Viddha-Śulabhañjika, Karpuramañjari, Bāla-rāmāyaṇa, and Pracan-dapāndava or Bāla-bhārata, and who lived about 900 A.D.[2]

PAṆḌITA RĀMA UPĀDHYĀYA (JHĀ).

He was a son of Paṇḍita Narapati Jhā. He was a very famous Paṇḍita in Mithilā. It is traditionally said that he was one of Rājā Paṇḍitas of Mahārāja Pratāpa Simha who granted him several villages as Jagir. These Jagirs are said to have been granted to him during the period 1170 to 78 Faśli (year) corresponding to 1763–71 A.D.

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1 शाके श्रीहरिसिंहदेव नृपतेर्भूपार्क (१२१६) तुल्येजनिः
तस्मादन्तमितेऽब्दके द्विजगणैः पञ्जी प्रबन्धः कृतः ।
तस्माद्वै द्विजबीजि वंश कलितं यद्विश्वचक्रे पुरा
तद्विप्राय समर्पितं सुकृतिने शाम्नाय सर्वार्थिने ॥
ब्राह्मणानां समुत्पत्तिं सद्बीजि कथनं तथा
करोति रघुदेवाख्यः पाण्डुः पंजीविनिश्चयम् ॥

2 Cf. Macdonald, Sanskrit Literature, page 366, 1905.

The account given of him is traditional and is backed up by the name in Mithilā Pañji.

The work "Meghadūta" is ascribed to him.

As a contemporary of Mahārāja Pratāpa Simha,[1] he may be placed towards the close of the 18th century A D.

Rāmabhadra Upādhyāya.

His name has been mentioned as a Maithila Paṇḍita of great fame, but I have not come across his manuscripts in Mithila nor have I come across any manuscript or work of Ratīsa Upādhyāya who is popularly believed to be his contemporary

In fact there have been several writers called Rāmabhadra, and it is difficult to say which of them was a Maithila, Aufrecht[2] mentions one Ramabhadra who was Guru of Murāri Miśra (author of Śubhakarma Nirṇaya)

If Murāri Miśra was a Maithila, this Rāmbhadra might have been a Maithil As such he may be placed in the 1st quarter of the 16th century

Ramadāsa Jhā.

He was author of "Anandavijaya Nātaka" (Drama) an unpublished work in possession of Paṇḍita Chetnātha Jhā of Darbhanga. Ramadāsa Jhā calls himself a disciple of Govinda Jhā[4] and a contemporary of Rājā Sūndara Thakkura.[5] As a contemporary of Rājā

[1] Cf. Pratāpa Simha
[2] Cf Aufrecht Vol I, page 571 (a) [3] Cf. Murari Misra.
[4] He is called author of two unpublished dramas, "Nala Charitra" and "Krsna Caritra."
[5] C. f. Ananda Vijaya

नटी—इद खलु कस्य देवतरोः फल यत्र गन्धर्व्व, राजद्दव आर्य्योऽपि इंदृशो राजते ।

सूत्रधार :—इदं हि कात्यायन गोत्रस्य कुलीनो कुलनन्दनस्य,

यस्मिन् गउर्गतिरोषद्पङ्क पटेनायस्त रत्नाङ्कुरा

नातन्वन्निवपूर्व्विदूरखनयो विख्यात संख्यावताम् ।

श्रीगोविन्दघनेन तेन गुरुणा कारुण्य पुण्याम्भसा

सिक्तस्यामर शाखिनो नवरसं रामस्य रम्यं फलम् ॥

नटी—आर्य्यसुन्दरनरेश्रमद्वमपि भद्रं जानामि ।

सूत्रधार— क इव

Sūndara Thakkura,[1] he may be placed in the first half of the 17th century A.D.

RĀMADATTA THAKKURA

He is the author of two works, Vivāhādi-paddhati[2] and Dāna-paddhati treating of marriage ceremony and gifts. He is a son of Ganeśvara and cousin of Candeśvara.[4] As son of Ganeśvara, he may be placed in the 2nd half of the 14th century.

RATNAPĀṆI.

He was son of Acyuta Thakkura, minister of Rājā Śiva Simha and was father of Ravi (author of Kāvyaprakāśa Ṭīkā). He is accredited with the authorship of Kāvyadarpaṇa.

As his father was a minister of Rājā Śiva Simha who lived in the 1st half of the 15th century A.D., he may be placed a generation later, i.e in the 3rd quarter of the 15th century A.D.

RAVI THAKKURA.

He was the author of "Madhumati"[5] a commentary on the "Kāvya Prakāśa." His father was Ratnapāṇi and his grandfather was Acyuta who was a minister of Rājā Śiva Simha.[6] As Śiva Simha lived in the 1st half of the 15th century A.D.,[7] Ravi may be placed two generations later, i.e. at the beginning of the 16th century A.D.

नटी—तर्के पङ्कजार्करूप करोत्तर शुचि पण्डितः ।
तदीय शिष्यो महेशः सच्चरित्रानगतिमण्डितः ॥
सूत्रधार—क एषः शुचिकर पण्डितः ।
नटी—एतस्य कवेः पुत्रष पूर्व्वः ॥

1 Cf. Sundara Thakkura.

2 This work has been commented upon by Pandita Parmesvara Jha.

3 Cf. genealogical table in the account of Caudesvara.

4 Cf. Candeśvara.

5 This should not be confounded with "Madhumati" a work by Narasimha Kavirāja—Cf. p. 92, Vol III, Catalogus Catalogorum, Aufrecht, 1903

6 Peterson's 3rd Report, p. 332, introd. verse 3:—

शिवसिंहान्मिथिलेशादवाप यो मंत्रितां विबुधः
तस्याच्युतस्य सूनुर्बभूव भुवि रत्नपाणिरयम् ॥ [३] ॥

Ratnapāṇi was father of the author Ravi.

7 Cf. Siva Simha.

RUCIDATTA UPĀDHYĀYA.

The following commentaries of his are extant, viz. (1) The Tattva-cintāmaṇi-prakāśa,[1] a commentary on Gaṅgeśa's work in Nyāya, (2) Tarkapāda, (3) Tarka-sāra, (4) The Nyāya-kusumañjali-prakāśa-makaranda, a sub-commentary of Varddhamāna's commentary on Udayanācāryya's Vaiśeṣikā work, (5) Makaranda on Raghudeva's Padārtha Khaṇḍanavyākhyā.

Rucidatta's father was Devadatta and mother Renukā. He was brother of Śaktidatta and Matidatta.[2] He was a pupil of Jayadeva. He is said to have been nicknamed "Bhoktu,"[4]

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[1] Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 528 (a).
Parts of the Tattvacintāmaṇi-prakāśa:—
Upanayalakṣaṇa.
Upādhipurvapakṣagranthaṭikā.
Tarkagranthaṭīkā.
Tritīyacakravartilakṣaṇaṭīkā.
Dvitīyacakravartilakṣaṇaṭīkā.
Dvitiyaśvalakṣaṇaṭīkā.
Pakṣatāpūrvapakṣagranthaṭīkā.
Pakṣatāsiddhāntagranthaṭīkā.
Pratijñālakṣaṇaṭīkā
Pratyakṣavāda.
Pratyakṣaditritaya.
Prathamapragalbhalakṣaṇaṭīkā.
Bādhānta
Viruddhapūrvapakṣagranthaṭikā.
Viruddhasiddhāntagranthaṭikā.
Vyāptyanugamaṭīkā.
Savyabhicārapūrvapakṣagranthaṭīkā.
Savyabhicārasiddhāntagranthaṭīkā.
Samānyaniruktiṭikā.
Samānyabhāvaṭikā
Rucidattīyany.

[2] Ind. Off. Cat. p. 635, Nos. 1946–7, the end verse 2:—

श्रीदेवदत्त तनयो विनयोपगूढः श्रीरेणुकाविर लगर्भपुटोपजातः श्रीशक्तिदत्तमतिदत्त सहोदरीयः, सोऽमुं चकार रुचिदत्तकृतीप्रकाशम् ।

[3] Sans. Coll. Cat. III, 544, the Tatta-cinta-maṇi-prakāśa, introd. verse 2:—

अधित्य रुचिदत्तेन जयदेवाज्जगद्गुरोः ।
चिन्तामणौ ग्रन्थमणौ प्रकाशोऽयं प्रकाश्यते ॥

and the final colophon:—

इति श्रीसोदर पुर कुल समुद्भूतमहामहोपाध्यायः श्रीरुचिदत्त ।
विरचिते तत्वचिन्तामणि प्रकाशे प्रत्यक्ष परिच्छेदः समाप्तः ॥

[4] Cf. Bikaneer Manuscript Library, at the Fort, Almirah No. 2, Manuscript N. 421, in the leaf 271, Śabdacintāmani Prakāśa.

रुचिदत्ता परनाम्ना भक्तू कृतिना विनायासम् प्रकटीकृतः प्रकाशो विशदः चिन्तामणेः उपरि

(H. P. Sastri's notes in manuscript dated 11-10-10).

He must be older than Śaka 1292 or 1370 A.D. the date of an old manuscript of his Tattvacintāmaṇi-Prakāśa-pratyakṣa-khanda.[1] I have not seen this manuscript, but if his teacher Jayadeva belonged to the latter half of the 15th century A.D. there must be some mistake about this. As he was a pupil of Jayadeva,[2] he may be placed in the 4th quarter of the 15th century.

RUCIPATI.

He was a Maithila Brāhmaṇa of Khauale-bejauli-mool and of Kaśyapagotra and lived at Vaijoligrāma. He is known for his commentary on Anargha-rāghava, etc.

He was father of Dhanapati and Harapati who flourished in the latter half of the 15th century.[4] He was a Paṇḍita with Mahārāja Bhairava Simha *alias* Hari Nārāyaṇa and thus there is no uncertainty regarding his time. He has mentioned this fact at the beginning of his commentary on Anargharāghava. It was under Rājā Bhairava Simha's order that he undertook this commentary.[5] He may thus be placed in the first half of the 15th century A.D.

RUDRADHARA UPĀDHYĀYA.

He was son of Lakṣmidhara.[3]

He was a famous writer on Smṛti. In the Vratapaddhati, Rudradhara refers to the sayings of his brother both in the beginning and in the end. In the final colophon of the Śuddhi-viveka, Rudradhara is called the son of Lakṣmidhara and younger brother of Haladhara, who is presumably the brother alluded to. Rudradhara calls

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[1] Cf. Peterson's 6th Report, P. 75, N. 190. Also p. 268, J.A.S.B., Vol. XI, 1915.

[2] Cf. Jayadeva.

[3] Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 528 (*a*)

[4] Cf. Dhanapati.

[5] Cf. the following sloka :—

खौआलवंशजातः। तस्यादेशान्महीशस्य। श्रीरुचिपति रतिमूढ़ाः। स्पष्टीकुरुते मुरारि वापिवाचः।

Also the colophon to be found at the end of every part of the commentary :—

इति समस्त प्रक्रिया विराजमान रिपु कंस नारायण भव भक्ति परायण श्रीहरिनारायण पदसमलङ्कृत महाराजाधिराज श्रीमत् भैरव सिंहदेव प्रोत्साहित वेजौली ग्रामवास्तव्य खौआलवंश प्रभव श्रीरुचिपति महोपाध्याय विरचितायामनर्घ राघवटीकायां प्रथमोऽङ्कः।

himself vaguely as Sarmmā, but by Govindananda in his Śrāddha, and Śuddhi-kaumudi he is given the title Upādhyāya.

His works are also quoted by Raghunandana, Kamalākara and Nilakantha.[1]

His works are:—

(i) The Varṣa-kṛtya, dealing with a number of festivals and optional fasts, beginning with the Vrata of Behulā.

(ii) The Vrata-paddhati, a manual of the rites to be performed in connection with Vratas.

(iii) The Suddhi-viveka, on purification, in three paricchedas. It should be distinguished from the works of the same name by Śūlapāṇi and by Śrināthācāryyacurāmaṇi.

(iv) The Śrāddha-viveka, dealing with the funeral rites, in four paricchedas, should be distinguished from the work of the same name by Sulapāṅi, which the author himself has quoted as Gauṛiya.

Rudradhara is quoted several times in the Śuddhi Prāyaścitta, Tithi, Kṛtya and Sama-śrāddha-tattvas.[2] So he must be older than the beginning of the sixteenth century. He quotes the Śuddhi-pradīpa and the Śrāddha-pradīpa, works of Śañkara Misra, though the latter may be the work of Varddhamāna. So his time must be later than the third quarter of the fifteenth century. His time thus falls roughly in the 4th quarter of the same century.[3]

ŚĀLIKANĀTHA MIŚRA.

He was a pupil of Prabhākara Guru[4] and is quoted by Citsukha in Mānasanayanaprasādini. He is a distinguished writer and is author of:—

[1] Cf. Aufrecht, p. 530 (*a*), Vol. I.

[2] Cf. ditto.

[3] Cf. p. 405 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XI, Nos. 10 and 11 for November and December, 1915.

[4] Cf. the 1st sloka, Prakaraṇapancikā (Benares) edition 1904:—

स्वाध्यायविधि वाक्यार्थविचारे प्रयतामहे ।

प्रभाकर गुरोर्हृद्या मीमांसारम्भ सिद्धये ॥ १ ॥

Nyāyāratna.
Prakaraṇapancikā.
Praśastapādabhāsyavyākhyā.
Sabarabhāṣyatīkā.

The Paṇḍitas of Mithilā look upon him as a Maithila and even point to some families connected with him, but apart from the fact that his surname was a Misra[1] (a surname not peculiar to Mithilā) there is nothing else to connect him with Mithilā. His age has not yet been fixed.

SAṀKARA MIŚRA.

He is author of "Smṛti Sudhākara." He is to be distinguished from Saṃkara Miśra,[2] son of Bhāvanātha Miśra.

The Alwar Catalogue (N. 1540) shows "Smṛtisudhākara" by Śamkara.[3]

His Maithila nationality is asserted by himself and he praises king Akbar in the concluding Verses.[4] So he may be assigned to the 2nd half of the 16th century.

ŚAṄKARA MISRA.[5]

He was son of Bhavanātha and nephew of Jivanātha. He wrote both on Smṛti and on Darśana, chiefly Vaiśeṣikā. His extant philosophical works are :—

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1 Cf. the final colophon of Prakaraṇapancikā p. 231 (Benares) edition 1904:—

इति श्रीशालिक नाथ मिश्र विरचितायां........समाप्ता च प्रकरण पञ्चिका ।

2 Cf. Sankara Misra, p. 1.

3 Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. II, p. 236 (*a*).

4 Introduction verses:—

मैथिलो चरणरेणुरंजितो भैरवेश्वर शिवोपसर्जितः वागवती सरिदुरीकृतान्तरः कश्चिदस्ति विषयोमधन्तरः यस्योत्तरे हिमाद्रिः कुशिकपुत्री यत्र पूर्वस्याम् ॥ चिदशनदी यदवाच्याम्—पश्चिम सीमाऽपि गण्डकी यत्र ।

and 5 verses in praise of Akbar and 3 verses in praise of Todarmall.

जयति क्षिति मण्डलम् अकबर नृपतौ ततो मन्द्रेन्द्र । नाम् । इत्यादि

मंत्री अकबर नृपतेः टोडरमल्लश्चिरम् जयति-इत्यादि ।

5 The following sloka by poet Gangadatta in Bhṛngadūta, may be quoted (it describes Śankara's village).

मीमांसायाः श्रवणसरसाश्चे सुधीताश्च कौ चेत् ।
चित्ते चित्ते किमपि कविताऽकर्णने कौतुके वा ॥
तत्र भ्रमन बुद्धजन चतुःपाठिकाभिश्चद्वालम् ।
शोभाशालिप्रिय सरिसव ग्राम रत्नं परीथाः ॥

(i) The Ātma-tattva-viveka-kalpa-latā, a commentary on Udayanācāryya's polemical treatise.

(ii) The Ānanda-vardhana, pleasure-increaser, a commentary on Śrīharṣa's Vedantic Khaṇḍana-khāṇḍa-khādya which is referred to in Pragalbhācāryya's commentary thereon.

(iii) The Tattva-cinta-maṇi-mayukṣa, a commentary on Gaṅgeśa's famous work in Nyāya.

(iv) The Trī-sutri-nibandha-vyākhya, a sub-commentary on Udayanācāryya's tīkā on the first three sūtras of Gautama's Nyāya-sūtra. It professes to be a supplement to the vyākhyā of the authors of Prakāśa (Rucidatta), Darpaṇa (Mahesa) and Udyota (Vahinipati).

(v) The Nyāya-lilāvati-kaṇṭh-ābhāraṇa, a commentary on the authoritative Vaiśeṣika work of Vallabhācaryya.

(vi) The Bheda-prakāśa or Bheda-ratna-prakāśa, a criticism of the non-dualistic Vedanta, the only original work in philosophy of Śaṅkara as yet found. It is criticised in its turn in the Saṃkṣepa-śāriraka of Sarvajñatmana (ii. 1).

(vii) The Vaiśeṣikā-sūtropaskāra, a commentary on the Kanāda-sūtras, in ten adhyāyas, each with two Ahnikas.[1]

(viii) Kanādarahasya.

(ix) Khaṇdana-khanda-khadyatīkā.

(x) The Chandogahnikoddhāra[2]
(xi) The Prāyascitta-pradīpa[3] and
(xii) The Śrāddha-pradīpa.[4]
} All on rituals.

The following works are also attributed to him[5]:—

(1) Śri Kṛṣṇa Vinoda Nātaka, (2) Manobhāva Parabhāva Nātaka, (3) Rasārṇava, (4) Vaiśeṣikā-sūtropaskāra, (5) Chandogahnikoddhāra, (6) Vadi-vinoda, (7) Āmoda on Kusumāñjali, and (8) Samānya Niruktikrodinya.

He wrote also, apparently in his younger days a small comedy on the marriage of Śiva and Pārvati, the Gauri-

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1 It is the popular commentary on the original Sutras, and has been printed in the Bibl. Ind. edition.

2 Cf. R. Mitra, Notices, Vol, VI, p. 9, No. 1989.

3 Do. Vol. V, p. 286, No. 1965.

4 Do. Vol. VII, p. 191, No. 2430.

5 Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 625.

digambara-prahasanam, which was played at the instance of his father.[1]

He wrote on Nyāya Vaiśeṣikā and Smṛti. The beginning and the last of some of his verses bear out his authorship.

The Nepal Darbar Library contains a copy of the Nyāya-varttikā-Tātaparyyatikā made by a Gaudiya Ambasta (=vaidya) named Vasudeva at the Chaupadi (college) of Saṁkara Miśra in the village of Sarsapa (=modern Sarisava) in the Śakā year 1415=1488 A.D.[2] Also he was the guru of Varddhamāna Upāddhyāya, and[3] as such, he may be placed in the second half of the 15th century.

He must be older than 1462 A.D. in which year a manuscript of his work, Bheda-prakāśa was copied as it is dated the Samvata year 1519.[4]

Many Maithila *Vidwāns* speak of him as "शकरः शकरः साचात्" and generally say that he belonged to a very high family.[5]

SARBORUTRIBEDIN.

He was a lawyer of Mithilā. He compiled "Vivāda-Sārārṇava" at the request of Sir W. Jones and may be assigned to the 19th century A.D.

SINHA BHŪPĀLA.

He was a contemporary of King Pratāpa Rudra of the 14th century. His Rasārṇava Sudhākara is a short treatise on poetics Mallinātha invariably quotes from his work in all his commentaries. His only other work is the Saugita-ratnākara-vyākhyā, a treatise on music.[6]

He is identified with some Mithīlā ruler of the 14th century, but the question is much disputed.[7]

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1 Cf. H. Sastri Notices, Vol. III, p. 52, No. 83.

2 Cf. p. 49, Vol. I, Nepal Catalogue by H P. Sastri.

3 Cf. Varddhamānopādhyāya.

4 The Bheda-prakāśa, Śamvata 1519 (Hall).

5 Saṅkara Miśra is said to have belonged to a family closely related to the Maharajā Bahadur of Darbhangā.

6 Page 166 of the History of the Classical Sanskrit Literature by M. Krishnāmacaryya, 1st edition.

7 Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 415(*a*) where Bhupāla has been identified with Bhojarāja; Aufrecht attributes, however, Samgita Sudhākar-Samgitaratnākaratika to Simha Bhūpāla (Aufrecht) Vol. I, p. 686 (*b*). This seems to be the same work as Samgitaratnākara Vyākhyā (?)

Śivāditya Miśra.

He is also called Śivācāryya.[1] He is the author of Saptapādārthi, a work on Baiseṣikā (Nyāya). He is quoted by Gangeśvara in Tattva-cintā-mani, and by Harṣa in Khaṇdanakhāndakhādya.

The Paṇditas of Mithilā look upon him as a Maithila but apart from the fact that he bore the surname Miśra and that he was a writer on Nyāya, the home of which is Mithilā, there is nothing to connect him with Mithilā. On the other hand, his work was well known in Southern India, where it was commented on by Mādhava Saraswati (16th century A.D.) who has clearly stated that he was a man of Southern India and lived on the bank of the river Kṛṣṇā.[2]

As he was a predecessor of Gangeśopādhyāya who lived in the 12th century A.D., he cannot date later than the second half of the 11th century A.D.

Śṛdattopādhyāya.

He is one of the most important Smṛti writers in Mithilā on Ācāra, i.e. the religious duties of Vājasaneyin (i.e. according to Śukla Yayur Vedâ). His works are: (1) Ācāryya Ādarśa (i.e. Ācāra of a Vājasaneyin,[3] (2) Chandogāhnika (i.e. daily ācāra according to Śāma Veda),[4] (3)

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1 Cf. the Sanskrit introd. to Saptapādārtha by Tailangā Rāma Sāstri, Benares edition, 1893 A.D.

2 Do. do. p. 6.

सौराष्ट्रदेशो ऽखिलदेशवर्यः सदाकरो दक्षिणभूमिनिष्ठः। विराजते सह्यगिरीन्द्रसानौ यत्रास्ति गोकर्णं महाबलेशः ॥ १ ॥ तद्देशजन्मा यतिरेकदण्डी सरस्वतीमस्तक माधवाख्यः! यो ऽयं शिवादित्य कृतेरकार्षीद् व्याख्यामिमां बालसुख प्रवृत्त्यै ॥ २ ॥

माधवाख्ययतीन्द्रेण कृष्णातीरनिवासिना। कृता सप्तपदार्थ्यास्तु टीकेयं मितभाषिणी ॥ ३ ॥

3 Among the nibandhas, the Acār-ādarsa, quotes:—

The Kalpa-taru (1)
Kalpa-taru-kara (3).
Kāma dhenu (5).
Rājā (? Bhojadeva) (2).
Smṛti-mahārṇava (1).
Harihara (10).
Halāyudha nibandha (4). Besides these he quotes his own Chandog-āhnika once.

It is named in the Suddhi-viveka of Rudradhara.

4 The Chandog-āhnika is quoted in Śrīdattopādhyāya's own Acār-ādarśa, and mentions the following nibandhas and nibandha-writers:—

Kalpa-taru (4).
Kalpa-taru-kāra (2).
Kāma-dhenu (7).
Karmma-pradīpa (10).
Gopāla (1).
Chandoga-paddhati (1).
Bhupāla (1).
Mitākṣarā (1).
Ratna-karaṇdika (1).
Rājā (? Bhojadeva) (3).

Pitṛbhakti (i.e. funeral ceremonies according to Yayura Veda),[1] (4) Śrāddha-kalpa (funeral ceremonies according to Sāma Veda), and (5) Samayapradīpa (i.e. a treatise on the virtues of fast),[2] (6) Vratasāra and (7) Avasthyādhanapaddhati.

Śṛdatta's identity has not as yet been established but he is treated by the Maithilas as having been an authoritative Maithila Smṛti writer. He has also made a separate reference to several Bengal writers in his works. These and other considerations place him in Mithila.

His works are quoted by Kamalākara, Divakara, Acārārka, Devanatha, Raghunandana, Ratnapaṇi, Rudradhara and Vācāspati Miśra. Aufrecht calls him Maithila.

His posterior limit is fixed by the quotations from his works in the Ratnakara and by the mention of his name therein.[4] So he must be older than 1314 A.D. His upper limit is arrived at by his naming Harihara Miśra

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Srāddha-kalpa (1).	Smṛti-maharṇava (1).
Smṛti-manjusa, dakṣiṇadeśiya.	(Smrti-) maharṇava-prakāśa (3).

It is named in the Pitr-bhakti-taraṅgīnī of Vacāspati Miśra, the gṛhastharatn-ākara of Candeśvara, the Gaṅgā-vākyāvali of Vidyapati, and the Gaṅgābhakti-tarangini of Gaṇapati. Sankara Misra wrote a supplement to it, the Chandog-āhnik-oddhāra.

[1] The Pitṛ-bhakti was written after consulting the Kātiya kalpa with Karka's Bhāṣya, and the opinions of Bhūpāla and Gopāla (nibandhakāras). It is mentioned in the Srāddha cintāmaṇi of Vacāspati Miśra, and in the Srāddha-viveka of Rudradhara as old (prācina). It quotes :—

Karka (1).	
Karka-bhāṣya (2).	Ratna-karandikā (1).
Kalpa-taru (4).	Rājā (? Vhojadeva) (3).
Kalpa-taru-kāya (5).	Sobhākara (1).
Kām-dhenu (5).	Smṛti-mañjari (2).
Gopāla (1).	Smṛti mañjuṣa (1).
Chandoga-srāddha-kalpa (1).	(Smṛti) maharṇava-prakāśa (1).
Bhūpāla (1).	Halāyudhiya Srāddh-adhyaya (3).
Mitākṣara (1).	

[2] The Samaya-pradipa, a standard work on Vratas. It was often quoted, i.e in the Kṛtyaratnākara of Candeśvara (12 times), the Pitṛ-bhakti taraṅgini of Vācāspati Miśra, the Varṣakṛtya of Rudradhara (11 times) the Malamasa and the Ekādaśi tattvas of Raghunandana. It quotes : –

Kalpa-taru (5).	Yogiśvara (3).
Kalpa-taru-kara (1).	Rājā (1).
Karmma-pradīpa (1).	Srāddha-kalpa (2).
Kāma-dhenu (1).	Srāddhy-ādhyāya (1).
Jitāmitra (1).	Harihara (4).
Bhupāla (2).	

The Gauras, Gaura-grantha, Gaura-Smṛti and Gauranibandha have been several times referred to.

[3] Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. 1, p. 668.

[4] Cf. p. 381 of Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XI, for Nov.

and quoting from Harihara's Bhāṣyas Harihara is often mentioned in Hemadri's Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi (Pariśeṣa-khanda) and is therefore older than the 4th quarter of the 13th century. In his Bhāṣyas Harihara names the Kalpa-taru-kara (1st half of the 12th century) and certain later commentators of Pāraskara-gṛhya-sūtra, such as Vāśudeva Dikṣita and Reṇu Diksita. So at any rate Harihara cannot be later than the 3rd quarter of the 13th century. Then Śrīdatta may be placed in the last decade of the same century, as a contemporary of Hemādri [1]

In his grammatical Paribhāṣa, the well-known founder of the Supadma School, Padmanābha Datta, calls himself "Śridatt-atmaja-sununā." If this Sridatta be identical with the Smrti-writer then two generations intervened Padmanābha Datta *wrote the Prasodara-vrtti in* 1375 A.D.[2]

Consequently Śrīdatta cannot be earlier than the beginning of the 14th century [3]

Śridatta Miśra

Another writer on Smṛti. His extant works are :—

(1) Ekā-agni-dāna-paddhati, dealing with gifts or *Dāna* ;

(2) Puraścaraṇa-paddhati, dealing with the ceremonies introductory to the performance of certain rites ;

(3) Avasthyā-dhāna-paddhati, dealing with the es-

and December, 1915 It is, however, traditionally said that Candesvara Mahtha, author of Ratnākara flourished during the time of Mahārāja Harasimha Deva (of Karnata dynasty) and Bhavasimha Deva (Oinwara Maithila Brahmaṇa Rājā) and Sridatta flourished at the time of Devasimha, son of aforesaid Bhavasimha Deva

[1] Page 381 of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XI, for November and December, 1915.

[2] It may be stated that Sridattopadhyaya was the elder brother of Rudradhar Upadhyaya, a famous writer on Smart-nibandha ; such as Srāddha-viveka, Suddhi-viveka, Vrat paddhati, etc. This appears from the colophon in Vratapaddhati as quoted below :—

एष श्रीमद्धाह्ट चरणो नीतः समय प्रदीपा धनसारो पन्थाः ।

[3] Dr Har Prasad Sāstrī in his report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts (*1901-02 to 1905-06*), *page 6, writes :—*

"Śrīdatta, a Maithila Brāhmana, who flourished during the reign of Devasimha, wrote a paddhati which is to be found in the Nepal Catalogue. The same Śrīdatta wrote a work on Srāddha, entitled Pitibhakti, which has been acquired."

tablishment of domestic fire according to Vedic rites ;

(4) Pitıbhakti, a work on Srāddha

Śridatta was the son of Nageśvara Miśra and bore the title of Avasthika [1]

He was a contemporary of Rajā Deva Simha [2]

Śridatta had a younger brother Narasimha, whose son, Madhusudana, wrote the astrological work Jyotisa-pradipa-ankura.

It appears from the final colophon in the Nepal Manuscript that the Ekāgni-dāna paddhati was copied in the La Sam 299 corresponding to 1418 A D. Thus Śridatta Miśra may be placed in the 1st half of 15th century.[4]

This conclusion as to his date is also confirmed by the facts : (1) that Rājā Dhirasimha (whose contemporary Śridatta was) died in La. Sam. 293 or, 413 A.D.; and (2) that Śridatta's nephew Madhusudana wrote Jyotiṣapradipānkura during the lifetime of Rājā Dhira Simha who surely lived in La. Sam. 321, i e. 1441 A.D Thus Dhira-

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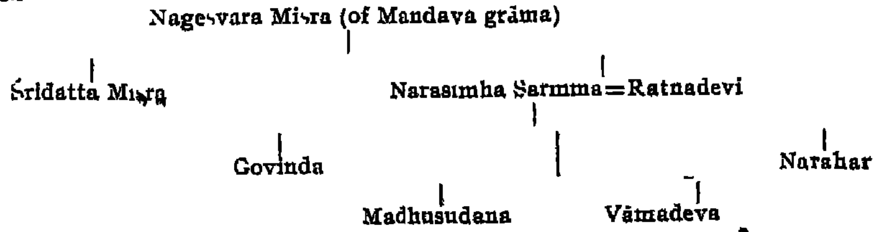
[1] Cf Nepal MSS. Notices, p 129, final colophon —

इति महामहोपाध्याय मिश्र श्रीनगेश्वरात्मजा वसथिक + + + + + (महामहोपा) ध्याय श्रीश्रीरत्तपद्धतावेकाग्निविधि महादानविधानं पूर्णम्। समाप्तोऽयं ग्रन्थः (शुभमस्तु) लस २९९ पौष शुदि ९ चन्द्रे महामहोपाध्याय श्रीनरः (सिंहशर्मा १) महानुभा वातामनुज्ञामवाप्य स्वरण्यां वासमासाद्य श्रीधनेश्वरेण लिखितेयं पुस्तीति।

[2] Cf. Nepal MSS. Notices, p. 129, introd. verse.—

सम्यक् तातनगेश्वराद् बहुगुणाद् वैशेषिकान्विचिकीम्
वेदव्याकरणाधीत्य निखिलं काव्यादिक ज्योतिषम् ॥
दातु· सपदि सम्मतोनरपतेः श्रीदेवसिंहस्य स।
श्रीदत्तो वितनोति पद्धति मिमामेकाग्नि दानोचिताम् ॥

[3] Cf India Office Catalogue, p 1066 (No. 3004) where the end verses deal wit the names of Madhusudana's relations, on which the following family chart is based :—



[4] Cf. H. P. Sastri Notices, p. 129, Nepal MSS.

simha-belongs in any case to the 1st half of the 15th century.

Śri Nivāsa Miśra.

He was a preceptor of Padmanābha Miśra, the author of Supadmavyākaraṇa.[1] He is known as the author of the book "Adbhuta Sāgara" found in Mithilā and attributed to Sri Nivāsa Miśra though there is another Adbhutasāgara attributed to Ballala Sena (Aufrecht, vol 3).

Śri Nivāsa Miśra's time has not as yet been settled and all that can be said is that his name appears in Maithila Pañji and that popular tradition assigns him to the 14th century. It is sometimes doubted if the author of Adbhuta-sāgara was a Maithila. Aufrecht has attributed "Adbhuta-sāgara-Sāra" apparently a commentary on "Adbhutasagara" to one Śripati.[2] If Padmanābha Misra was a Maithila, Śri Nivasa Miśra might have been a Maithila. The surname of Miśra shows that they were Maithilas rather than Bengalis.

Subhankara Thakkura.

He is identified with Subhankara Thakkura, the successor of Maheśa Thakkura, the founder of the Darbhanga Rāj, and is accredited with the authorship of (1) Tithinirṇaya; and (2) Śrihasta Muktāvali. He may be assigned to the end of the 16th century.

Sucarita Miśra.

He is the author of "Kāśika" a commentary on the Slokavarttika of Bhatta Kumārilla. This is quite different from the work of the same name by Vaidyanātha Pāyaguṇḍa, which is a commentary on the grammatical work Paribhāṣendu Śekhara. In the colophon, the author calls himself Upādhyāya[3] and this makes his Maithila nationality very probable, especially as Maithila traditions regard him as Maithila.

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[1] Cf. the sloka in the Supadma Vyākaraṇa :—

नत्वा श्रीश्रीनिवास प्रणत जन्मनः श्रंकु संहारकालम्

[2] Cf. Aufrecht, Vol. III, page 139(*b*)

[3] इत्युपाध्याय सुचरितमिश्रकृतौ काशिकायाम् वेदाधिकरणम् समाप्तम् ॥

A copy of this work was made in Vikrama Samvata 1633[1]=1576 A.D. So he must have lived earlier than 1576 A.D. and may be assigned to the 1st half of the 16th century A.D.

SUDHĀKARA.

He is known as the author of the Astrological work 'Ratnāvali.' It appears from the Ratnāvali that he was a Maithila Brāhmaṇa of Khauale-moola.[2]

A commentary on Ratnāvali is ascribed to Pradyumna[4] who flourished in the 1st half of 16th century and who was a pupil of Sudhākara. He flourished during the time of Bhairava Simha[5] Thus it is certain that our author flourished at the beginning of the 16th century

UDAYANĀCĀRYYA.

The greatest follower of Vācaspati Miśra in Mithilā in the Navya Nyāya school was Udayanācārya who wrote his Kirnāvali. in the śākā year 906[6] or about 984 A.D His famous works, in which he has attacked the Jainas and the Buddhists and others, are: (1) Ātma-tattva-viveka or Baudha-dhikkāra; (2) Nyāya-Kuśumāñjali; and (3) Laksanāvali.

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1 वर नेत्राणि षड् भूमिमिते विक्रम भूभुजः
शाकाब्द + + + इषे शुक्ले नागतिथा वदः
काशिका पुस्तकम् काश्याम् भट्टमाधव सूनुना
स्वपाठार्थम् पटुधिया रघुनाथेन पूरितम् ॥

2 Cf. Ratnāvali

खौआले मूलः बोधयं निधा बुडाया खौआल कुमुदा करम् ।
प्रस्तौति सकवततंच ज्योतिषे श्री सुधाकरः ।

Cf. also the śloka at the commencement of the "Samayasuddhi," Dwaita Nirṇaya (Vacaspati):—

बोधयन्निवया बुद्धा खौआल कुमुदाकरम् ।
प्रस्तौति शाकवत्तन्त्रं ज्योतिषे श्री सुधाकरः ॥
श्रीपत्यादि निबन्धेभ्यः किञ्चिदाकृष्य लिख्यते ।
शिशूनां व्यवहाराय सन्तः कुर्वन्तु सम्मतिम् ॥

3 Cf. Manuscript of this work to be found in the Rāj Library, Darbhanga

4 Cf. Pradyumna.

5 Cf Bhairava Simha.

6 Cf. the last but one verse of the Lakṣanāvali

तर्काम्बराङ्क प्रमितेष्वतीतेषु शकान्ततः
वर्षेषूदयनश्चक्रे सुबोधा लक्षणावलीम् ॥

The following works are also attributed to him :—[1]

(1) Acāryamatarahaśya vaiśa ; (2) Kanādaśutrabhāśya; (3) Kirṇāvali (Guṇakiraṇāvali, Dravyakiraṇāvali),[2] Nyāyakuśumāñjali; (5) Nyāyavarttikatātparyapariśuddhi, and Bodhasiddhi.

Udayan's works are more popular in Mithilā than even in Bengal or any other part of the country and that is particularly why he has been taken to be a Maithila. I have not come across any reference to or quotation from his work to show that he admitted himself to be a Maithila. He holds the same position in the Navya Vaiśeṣikā schools as Sankara holds in the Vedānta.

It may not be amiss to say that Udayana is known throughout India as having been one of the greatest adversaries of the Buddhist faith.

His time is certain as he himself says at the end of the Lakṣnāvali that he lived in the sākā year 906, i.e. 984 A.D.

UMĀPATI UPĀDHYĀYA.

He is known for his book Pārijātaharaṇa, a drama in mixed Maithila and Sanskṛta. The Pārijātaharaṇa is a drama of the *rupaka* class. Nāradá presented a pārijāta flower to Kṛṣṇa which he gave to Rukmiṇi. Satyabhāmā was enraged and Kṛṣṇa sent to Indra for some more, which he refused to give. Thereupon there was a war wherein he was defeated and Satyabhāmā was propitiated. The plot is well constructed and the characters are well developed. Arjuna, as an assistant to Kṛṣṇa, plays an important part. The descriptions are imaginative and the contrast between the wives of Kṛṣṇa is successfully brought out.

According to Dr. Grierson, he was an inhabitant of village Koilaka in the Bhaur Parganah of the Darbhanga district. He was a courtier to the Rājaputa Prince of Mithilā, 6th in descent from Nānyadeva, named Harisim-

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1 Cf. Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum, Leipzig 1891, Vol. I, p. 65.

2 It is traditionally asserted by several Maithila Panditas that he lived in village Kariaun in the Samastipur sub-division and the place where he used to teach, is still locally pointed out. His descendants in the village are still called Acāryya.

3 Another tradition assigns him to Mahwa, about 29 miles to the north of Madhepur in Bhagalpur, and his descendants are pointed out in village Karama close by.

hadeva who is famous in Mithilā as the originator of the Panji or the genealogical records of members of the Brāhmaṇas, Kāyasthas and other castes and who did much the same for Tirhut as Ballālasena had done a century previously for Bengal. Accordingly Dr. Grierson thinks that Umāpati Upādhyāya flourished between 1304 to 1324 A.D.[1] I have heard from several sources in Mithila that Umāpati Upādhyāya was a contemporary of Pandita Gokula Nātha Upādhyāya who flourished in Mahārāja Rāghava Simha's time (1701-1739). He was a Pandita of Rājā Harihara of Mekmani in Nepal. It rests however on tradition. This brings him from the 14th to the 1st quarter of the 18th century A.D.[2]

(OLD) VĀCASPATI MIŚRA.

Vácaspati Miśra was the greatest commentator on Navya-Nyáya and was a Maithilā.—It is said of him traditionally "शंकर वाचस्पत्योः शंकर वाचस्पतीसदृशौ" of Shankar and Vacaspati both are equal.

His most famous work is the Nyáya-Várttika-tátparyya-tiká, in five adhyáyas, which fully expounds the *sūtras* of Gautama and which specially answers the objections raised by the scholars of the Buddhistic and the Jaina schools. His works are full of theistic and untheistic

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[1] Cf. pages 20-98, Volume III, part I of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society where an account of the Pārijātaharana has been published by Dr. Grierson.

[2] Cf. "The Date of Umāpati" by Dr. G Grierson, pages 552-554, Vol III, part IV of Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, December, 1917.

This independent Chieftain Harihara is traditionally assigned to Makamani, off the B. and N.W. Railway Station Bhaptiahi, in the Saptari Pargana, in Nepal Tarai and is said, at the beginning of the Parijataharaṇa, to have vanquished Yavanas (Muslim) :—

यस्यास्यं पूर्णचन्द्रः स्ववचनममृतं दृग्जय श्रीश्च लक्ष्मीः दोः स्तम्भः पारिजातो भ्रुकुटिलता सङ्गरे कालकूटः तीव्रतेजोऽग्निरौर्वः पद् भजनपरा राजराज्यस्थितिन्यः पारावारो गुणानामयमतुल-गुणः पातु वो मैथिलेशः ॥ २ ॥

सूत्र० आदिष्टोऽस्मि यवनवनच्छेदनकरालकरवालेन त्रिच्छेदगतचतुर्वेद पथप्रकाशक प्रतापेन भगवतः श्रीविष्णोर्दशमावतारेण हिन्दूपति श्री हरिहरदेवेन यथा उमापत्युपाध्याय विरचितं नवपारिजात मंगलमभिनीय वीररसावेशं समयन्तु भवन्तो भूपालसभ्यस्य। तद् गीयतां मंगलम्।

Cf. Parijataharaṇa edited by Paṇdita Cetanatha Jhā, Mithilā Mihira Press (1917), Darbhanga.

discussions. Some of his other works are: (1) Nyāya kaṇikā; (2) Tatva samikṣā; (3) Tatva-bindu; (4) Sámkhya tatva-káumudí; (5) Yoga-Bháṣya Vivṛtti; (6) Vedántá sārírikabháṣya bhámati; (7) Nyáya-sūcī-nibandha; (8) Tatva Sáradá; (9) Nyáya tattva-avaloka; (10) Nyáya-sūtroddhāra; (11) Nyáya Ratnaṭīkā; (12) Brahma-tattva sangitodīpinī; (13) Yuktidípikā; (14) Vácaspatya and; (15) Vedānta tattva Kaumudi.[1]

Macdonell in his "Sanskrit Literature," page 393 attributes a commentary on the Samkhya-káriká to Vácaspati Miśra who according to him lived in the 12th century A.D. As Vācāṣpati Miśra's date is fixed by his own statement that he lived about the ninth century A.D. obviously this was another writer and should not be confounded with the author of the Nyāya-vārttika tattvatātparyya-tīkā, who is generally known as the *bṛddha* (old) Vācaspati Miśra. But as an alternative, it may be assumed that the writer of the commentary on the Samkhya kārikā was identical with our author and belonged to the ninth century A.D.

The panegyric embodied in the stone tablet at the Ananta Vaśudeva temple at Bhuvaneśvara in Orissa throws a good deal of light on the state of learning and state of society in Bengal at the end of the tenth century A.D. The panegyric was written by a young scholar named Vācaṣpati Miśra, who is supposed to have bloomed in later life as the commentator of all the six systems of of Hindu Philosophy.[2]

It is not certain whether Vācaspati Miśra of the Bhuvaneśvara temple had any connection with our author, Vācaṣpati Miśra.

Vācaṣpati Miśra was followed by Jayanta. His age is not exactly determined yet.

One Rāghavānanda, disciple of Ādya-Bhāgvata who was disciple of Viśveśvara has written a commentary on the "Samkhya Tattva-Kaumudi" but it is not known if he was a Maithila.[3] Amalānanda, southern Indian writer, wrote a commentary called Vedanta Kalpa Târu on Vacas-

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1 Cf. Aufrecht's Catalogus Catalogorum Vols: I, III.

2 Cf. Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, June, 1919, p. 176.

3 Cf p. 13 of Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts 1895-1900 by H. P. Sastri.

pati, is Bhāśya Bhāmati and flourished about the middle of the 13th century A.D.[1]

He lived in the Samvat Vikramáditya 898 corresponding to A.D. 841 in which year his Nyáya-Súci-Nibandha was completed.

"न्याय सूचीनिबन्धोऽसावकारि सुधियां मुदे ।
श्रीवाचस्पतिमिश्रेण वस्वङ्कवसुवत्सरे ॥"

VARDDHAMĀNOPĀDHYĀYA.

He was a distinguished writer on Smrti, and an employee of the Mithilā king. He calls himself son of the poet Bhaveśa in the Vilva-pancaka [2] family and of Bhārdwājagotra.[3] He calls himself Upādhyāya in some of his colophons.[4] He calls Vācaṣpati[5] and Saṅkara as his Guravah. It appears that Gaṇḍaka Miśra was his brother.[6]

His well known works are :—

(i) The Gaṅgā-kṛtya-Viveka, a discussion of the texts on the rites to be performed on the banks of the sacred river Ganges;

(ii) The Gayā-paddhati, a manual of the rites to be performed at Gaya;

(iii) The Gaya-vidhi-viveka, or a discussion of the rules for performing the Śrāddha at Gayā;

(iv) The Daṇḍa-viveka, an elaborate discussion of the

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1 Cf. Journal of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, XVIII, 89; also Transaction of the ninth Congress of the Orientalists, i, 423.

2 Cf. Smṛti-tattvāmrta and Paribhāsa-Viveka.

3 Cf. Ganga kṛtya viveka.

In the final colophon of the Daṇḍa-viveka he is called Dharmmādhikāraṇika or judge, and in the Smṛtitattvamṛta he is called Mahā-dharmmādhikāri or chief judge.

4 Local tradition asserts that his mother's name was Garuṭi. He lived in village Nari-bhadauna. One of his tanks called Mathi-āhi is still found in village Asi in Darbhanga and there is a temple of Viṣṇu and Garura on the bank of the tank. The images of Viṣṇu and Garura were found by the excavation in the year 1281 Fasli corresponding to 1874 A.D. during the famine period.

There is a village called Dekuli near Laheriasarai Kutchery in which there is an image called "God Śiva Varddhamāneśwara" established by him.

5 Abhinava Vācāṣpati Miśra, who lived during the time of Rámabhadra must, however, have been his contemporary. Abhinava Vacāspati Miśra has referred to Varddhamāna's Smṛti-paribhāṣā in the Srāddha-cintāmaṇi and the Kṛtya Mahārṇava and has also mentioned him in the Dwaitanirṇaya. They had mutual respect for each other.

6 Cf. the Daṇḍa-viveka (As. Soc. MS., p. 1) introductory verse 6:—

ज्यायान् गंडकमिश्रः शंकर वाचस्पती च मे गुरवः ।
निखिल निबंध समाप्त प्रयासमेनं ममानु मानन्तु ॥

texts treating of punishment in the civil and criminal law, in seven paricchedas;

(v) The Dvaita-viveka, a discussion of the doubtful points of smṛti;

(vi) The Paribhāṣā-viveka, a discussion of various smṛtic matters including definitions of technical terms;

(vii) The Śrāddha-pradīpa or lamp of funeral ceremonies;

(viii) The Smṛti-tattvamṛta or Smṛti-tattva-viveka, a general digest of smṛti with discussion;

(ix) The (Smṛti) Tattva-amṛta-sār-oddhāra, or the extract of the essence of his own Tattvāmṛta (No. 8);

(x) The Smṛti-paribhāṣā, on the definition of Smṛtic-technical terms, with discussion of the appropriate times and other matters; and

(xi) Jalásayādi-vastu-vidhi, śánti-paustic-viveka, etc., etc.

(xii) Nāmā Sāstrārtha Nirṇaya.

He flourished in the time of Mithilā rulers Bhairava (cf. Daṇḍa-viveka) and Rāma Bhadra (*cf. his Ganga-Kṛtya-viveka* and Tatvāmṛta Sār-oddhara).[1] It appears that a manuscript of his Ganga-kṛtya-viveka was written in the year La. Sam. 376, i.e. 1496 A.D. So he may be placed between 1450 A.D. and 1550. This Varddhamāna must be distinguished from Varddhamāna, son of Gangeśopáddhyáya who lived in the 13th century.

VARDDHAMĀNOPĀDHYĀYA.

Varddhamāna has spoken of Gaṅgeśwara as his father and preceptor as will appear from Lilāvati Prakāśa. He wrote on Nyāya[1]:—

(i) The Tattva-cintāmaṇi-prakāśa, a commentary on

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1 This Varddhamānopādhyāya should be distinguished from the Naiyāyika of the same name, son of Gangesopādhyāya who flourished in the 13th century. For this reason Raghunandan often calls the Smṛti-writer Navya-Varddhamāna (the modern Varddhamāna)

न्यायाम्भोजपतङ्गाय मीमांसापार दर्शिने ।
गङ्गेश्वराय गुरवे पित्रेऽच भवते नमः ॥

his father's work, to be distinguished from a work of the same name by Rucidatta:[1]

(ii) The Nyāya-nibandha-prakāśa, a commentary on Udayanācaryya's Nyāya-varttika-tātparyya-pariśudahi;

(iii) The Nyāya-pariśista-prakāśa, a commentary on Udayanācāryya's Nyāya-pariśiṣta, quoted in his own No. vi, and in Jayadeva's Āloka;

(iv) The Prameya-nibandha-prakāśa, which may be the same as the Prameya-tattva-bodha, quoted as his by Rucidatta in the Nyāya-kusum-añjalī-prakāśa-makaranda[2];

(v) The Kirṇāvalī-prakāśa, a commentary on Udayanācāryya's work, in two sections,—Dravya and Guṇa;

(vi) The Nyaya-kusum-āñjali-prakáśa, a commentary on Udayanā's famous polemical work; quoted by Haridása Bhattácáryya in his Kusum-āñjalī-tīkā and commented upon by Rucidatta·

(vii) The Nyāya-līlāvati-prakāśa, a commentary on Vallabhācāryya's work-quoted in Jayadeva's Āloka;

(viii) The Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khādya-prakáśa, a commentary on Śriharṣa's famous work, referred to in Pragalbhācāryya's commentary (the Khandanoddhāra).[3]

Varddhamana Mahopádhyáya is named in the Sarvvadar-sanasangraha of Mádhavācáryya, under No. xiii, Pāṇinidarsana. So he must be older than the 2nd half of the 14th century. Also he must be older than Jayadeva, who commented on two of his Vaiśesika works. Jayadeva's time cannot be earlier than the 1st half of the 15th century.[4] He speaks of Varddhamāna reverently as "Mahāmahopā-dhyāya-caraṇah"; and so a fair interval must have elapsed between the two.

There is, however, a manuscript of the Kusumanjali Prakāsa by Varddhamāna in the Government collections in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, MS. No. 704 and is written in two different hands, of which the latter is a restoration

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[1] For a MS. cf. the Benares College Catalogue, 193.
[2] The Bib. Ind. ed. the Kusumañjali Prakaśa I, p. 384.
[3] Sans Coll. III, 199, No 314.
[4] Cf. Jayadeva.

dated Saka 1342=A.D. 1420, the earlier portions being written in script at least 70 to 100 years older, because the figure 3 is represented therein as Bengalee ৩. Professor Bendall says that the use of ৩ for ৩ is found between 1300 and 1360 A.D.; cf. plate in his Cambridge Catalogue. This will place the manuscript about 1340 A.D. and show that Vardhamana must have lived in the 13th century A.D.

VAṄGAMAṆI.

Sangitabhāṣkara is a commentary on the music art. It was composed by Jagajjyotirmalla with the help of a Maithila Paṇdita Vaṇgamani. The same royal author composed a work on music entitled Sangīta Sārasaṅgraha. Brahmā is said to be the primordial founder of the art of music, dancing and dramaturgy and he gave it to Bharata who composed a large work in hundred thousand slokas. The Rājā says that it is not known whether this work still exists or not, but that he consulted the short work of Bharata,[1] and of Bipradāsa and all other works that came within his purview.[2]

As a contemporary of Jagajjyotirmalla, he may be placed in the 1st half of the 17th century[3] A.D.

VAMṢA MAṆI.

Gita-digambara is a drama written in imitation of the inimitable Gitagovinda of Jayadeva. It was written by Vaṁśamaṇi, a Maithila Brāhmaṇa whose father was Rāmacandra. The author lived in Nepal and wrote this work shortly after the performance of the gift of Tulāpuruṣa by Pratāpamalladeva about the beginning of the 17th century.[4]

VĀŚUDEVA MIŚRA.

He wrote a commentary on the Tattva-cintā-maṇi of Gaṅgeśa.[5]

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1 Chapters in the Agnipurāṇa are meant, I believe.

2 Cf. H. P. Shastri's report on Sanskrit Manuscripts 1895-1900, page 11.

3 Jagajjyotirmalla was a Nepal king of the 15th century. Cf. Duff's Chronology of India, 1899, page 262. But Bendall assigns him to the 1st half of the 17th century A D. Cf. p. 30 of Bendall's History of Nepal, in H. P. Sastri's Catalogue, Vol. I.

4 H. P. Sāstri's report on Sanskrit Manuscripts, 1895-1900, page 18. Also Aufrecht Volume III, p. 33 (*b*).

5 The Cintā-maṇi-tikā (Ind. Off. Cat., page 632, No. 1939), introd. verse 2:—

In the final colophon he is described as nephew of Pakṣadhara Miśra, and is given the title Nyāya-siddhānta-sārābhijña, expert in the essence of logical conclusions. He wrote his work for the understanding of those who found fault with the words of his guru Jayadeva. As nephew of Jayadeva[1] his time falls in the 4th quarter of the 15th century.

VIDYĀKARA MIŚRA.

He was a Maithila and is accredited with the authorship of Rākṣasa-kāvyatikā. He is assigned to the 19th century A.D.

VIDYĀPATI THAKKURA.[2]

He is known as the most versatile and distinguished scholar of Mithilā. He has written on almost all branches of learning. He lived under the patronage of the then ruling family of Mithilā, i.e. that of Kāmeśvara and has attributed most of his works to the members of his family.[3] Vidyāpati is traditionally said to have be-

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जयदेव गुरोर्वाचि ये केचिद्दोष दर्शिनः ।
प्रबोधाय मया तेषां दीप्तिर्भूयोऽभिदीप्यते ॥

and the final colophon of the Anumāna-khaṇḍa :—

इति श्रीन्यायसिद्धान्तसाराभिज्ञमिश्र वर्षपक्षधरमिश्रभ्रातृपुत्र न्यायसिद्धान्तसाराभिज्ञवासुदेव मिश्र विरचितायां चिन्तामणि टीकायाः ।

[1] Cf. Jayadeva.

[2] For one who wants to study Vidyāpati thoroughly, Vidyāpati's Padāvali by Nagendra Nātha Gupta published at the instance of the late Mr. Saroda Carana Mittra (printed at the Calcutta Kuntalin Press, 1316 F. edition), is recommended.

[3] The works with the names of the royal member against each, are chronologically arranged :—

(i) The Kīrtti-latā, mixed Sanskrit and Maithili poem in praise of Kīrtti-siṁha (and Virasiṁha).

(ii) The Bhū-parikrama-grantha, moral tales told to Baladeva during his travel to Janaka-deśa, by order of Devasiṁha (names his son Śivasiṁha).

(iii) The Puruṣa-parīkṣā, moral tales, by order of Śivasiṁha (expanded from No. ii).

(iv) The Kīrtti-patākā, an amatory poem in Maithili, in the time of Śivasiṁha.

(v) The Padāvali, Maithili songs about Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, the work by which, Vidyāpati is best known, and on which his fame rests. A large number of the songs has at the end the names of Śivasiṁha and his queens, and a few of Devasiṁha and his queen. Occasional verses mention Bhogiśvara, Arjunasiṁha, Amarasiṁha, Rāghavasiṁha, and Rudrasiṁha.

(vi) The Likhanāvali, on letter-writing, attributed to Rājā Purāditya who killed Arjuna (Siṁha).

(vii) The Gaṅga-vākyāvali on the religious rites in connection with the Ganges, attributed to Viśvāsadevi, queen of Padmasiṁha.

longed to the family of Gaṇeśvara Miśra[1] but he does not say so in any of his works and in fact he has not given any information regarding his family connection.

His songs are most widely known and sung not only in Mithilā but also in Bengal.[2]

We must recognize the great services rendered by Dr. Grierson to the cause of Mithilā literature and especially to the popularization of the works of Vidyāpati Ṭhakkura. It was he who first collected the most popular songs of Vidyāpati and published them under the auspices of the Bengal Asiatic Society. He has commented on the traditions relating to Vidyāpati in the Indian Antiquary and Journals of the Bengal Asiatic Society. But it cannot be said, as subsequent discoveries have shown, that Dr. Grierson succeeded in obtaining all the songs of Vidyāpati.

The extent of his works shows that he must have lived to a good old age. The following is a list of his works[3]:—

(1) The Gangā-vākyāvali,[4] dealing with various rites and duties to be observed on the banks of the sacred river Ganges (a work on Smṛti).

(viii) The Śaiva-sarvvaśva-sāra, on the essence of the Śaiva-worship, attributed to Viśvāsadevi.

(ix) The Dāna-vākyāvali, on the religious gifts and their ceremonies, attributed to Dhiramatidevi, queen of Narasimhadeva.

(x) The Durgā-bhakti-taraṅginī, on the pramāna and the prayoga of Durgā worship, composed under the patronage of Dhirasiṁha, whose brothers Bhairavendra and Candrasimha are also named.

[1] Cf. Gaṇeśvara Miśra.

[2] They were widely sung in Tirhut in King Akbar's time in A.D. 1556 to 1605; cf. Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II, translated by Jarrett, Calcutta, 1910 edition.

[3] The following are to be found in the Darbhanga and Muzaffarpur districts:—

(1) Kirti-patākā, (2) Puruṣa-parikṣā, (3) Likhanā-vali, (4) Bibhāga-sāgara, (5) Dána-vākyāvali, (6) Gayá-patala, (7) Gañgá-viveká, (8) Saiva-sarvasvasāra, (9) Gāngā-vākyávali, (10) Jyotiṣā-darpana, (11) Varṣa-kṛtyádi, (12) Padyāvali, and (13) Bibhāgasāra.

The following slokas from his Bibhāga-sāra and his Gañgā-bhakti-tarañgini may be quoted with advantage:—

विश्वख्यात नयस्तदीयतनयः प्रौढ़ प्रतापोदयः ।
संग्रामाङ्गण लब्ध वैरि विजय कीर्त्याप्तलोकत्रयः ॥
मर्य्यादा निलयः प्रकाम विनयः प्रज्ञा प्रकर्षाश्रयः ।
श्रीमद्भूपति धीर सिंह विजयी राजत्यमोघक्रियः ॥

[4] The Gangā-vakyāvali collects together quotations on the subject from the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Chañdoga-pariśiṣta, the Maitrāyaṇiya-pariśiṣta-

(2) The Dána-vākyávali,[1] treating of the various kinds of religious gifts and of their ceremonies (a work on Smṛti).

(3) The Varṣa-kṛtya,[2] dealing with the fasts and festivals during the year (a work on Smṛti).

(4) The Vibhága-sára, the essence of partitions, on inheritance and partition (a work on Smṛti).

(5) The Kīrti-latā, mixed Sanskrit and Maithili poem in praise of Kīrtti-siṃha (and Vīra Siṃha).

(6) The Bhu-parikrama grantha, moral tales told to Baladeva during his travel to Janaka-deśa. It describes important places between Naimiṣāraṇya modern Nimkhar in the Sitapur district (U.P.) and Mithilā and is a sort of a Gazeteer.

(7) The Puruṣa-parikṣā, moral tales by order of Siva-Siṁha.

(8) The Kīrti-pataká, an amatory poem in Prākṛta and Maithili.

(9) The Padávali, Maithili songs about Rādhá and Kṛṣṇa.

(10) The Likhanāvali, on letter-writing.

(11) The Śaiva-Sarvvasva-sāra, on the essence of the Śaiva worship, attributed to Viśvāsadevī.

(12) The Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī, on the Pramána and the Prayoga of Durgā worship.

That Vidyāpati was exceedingly learned can never be disputed. His *Raj taraṅgiṇī* contains a song by one

Yogi-Yājñavalkya, Purāṇas, Smṛti-karas and others, among which may be mentioned the following :—

Kalpa-taru (3).	Darpaṇa (1).
Kalpa-taru-kāra (2)	Pārijāta (1).
Kalpa-druma-kāra (1).	Bhoja-rāja (2).
Kal ottara (1)	Mitākṣara (1).
Gaṅeśvera-Miśra (2).	Rāja marttaṇḍa (1).
Gangeya (6).	(Smṛti mahārṇava).
Chaṅdog-āhṇika (1).	prakāśa (1).
	Smṛti-samuccaya (2).

It mentions Sapta-grama as Dakṣiṇa-Prayāga and as Mukta-veni, and is herein followed by Vācāspati Miśra (Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi), Gaṇapati (Gaṅgā-bhaktitaraṅgiṇi) and Raghunandana (Prāyascitta-tattva). It is quoted by Gaṇapati in the Gaṅgā-bhakti-taran-ginī, by Śrinātha in the Kṛtya-tattv-ārṇava, and by Raghunandana in several of his tattvas, while the author (kāra) is named by Govindānanda in the Varṣa-kriyā and the Suddhi-kaumudi

[1] It mentions the Kalpa-taru (1), the Dāna-sāgara (1), Bhupāla (1), Bhoja-raja (1), the Ratnākara (3), Lakṣmidhara (1), and the Sāgara (8). It is quoted once by Raghunandana in the Vivāha tattva.

[2] The Varṣa kṛtya has been quoted in Raghu-nandana's Malamāsa tattv

Candra Kalá who was Vidyāpati's daughter-in-law as indicated by the colophon of the commentator Lochana

"इति श्री विद्यापति पुत्र वद्वाः"

It shows what an illustrious family it was.

In the very year of his accession to the *gaddi* Rājā Śiva Siṃha is said to have granted sanad of village Bispi to Vidyāpati Thakkura. This deed of gift is inscribed on a copperplate (preserved at Darbhangah). Dr. Grierson thought that this was not the original, i.e. that it was forged. The fact, however, remains that a Brāhmaṇa family called that of Vidyāpati held possession of this village for a long time until the year 1257 (Fasli) when they were dispossessed by a Settlement officer who considered the deed unreliable. This shows that Vidyāpati must have belonged to the locality where the family in possession was settled, i.e. Bispi.

It is traditionally believed that Vidyāpati met Pakṣadhara Miśra more than once. It is said that after having entertained a large number of Brāhmaṇas in his house, Vidyāpati saw an old man sitting in the corner. This drew from him the remark:—

प्राघूणो घुणवत्कोणे, सूक्ष्मत्वान्नोपलक्षितः ।

i.e. seated in a corner of the house like a small insect, the guest could not be seen on account of his shortness.

Pakṣadhara Miśra is said to have retorted by saying:—

नहि स्थूल धियः पुंसः, सूक्ष्मे दृष्टिः प्रजायते ।

i.e. obtuse-headed man cannot look into delicate or subtle matters.

Vidyāpati at once recognised the presence of Pakṣadhara Miśra and entertained him.

In Bengal, Vidyāpati has been immortalized by Vaiṣṇava Dāśa by his work Pada-kalpa-taru. Vidyāpati was known as having been a Bengalee and a contemporary of Cāṇḍídása and even now Caṇḍídása and Vidyāpati, whose compositions are contained in the Kalpa-taru are admitted to have been the first poets in the Bengali literature and even now it is sometimes believed in Bengal that Vidyāpati was a Bengálee. But the fact remains that

while Vidyāpati used Brajbháṣá, Caṇḍidása's compositions are free from such admixtures. It is not denied that there is not appreciable difference between Vidyāpati's language and the old Bengalee. It is equally undeniable that Vidyāpati's song has been sung in Bengal for the last five centuries. All these go, however, to establish the influence of Viyāpati over the old Bengali literature and the ineffable affinity between the Maithili and the original Bengal dialects. It is also known that Vaiṣṇavik poets freely imitated the language and style of Vidyāpati. But the fact remains that Vidyāpati's language is used up to this day by Maithili poets and writers though in a little modified form whereas Bengal broke with Vidyāpati's language and style long ago. It has also been ascertained that Vidyāpati's compositions have shown different masculine and feminine forms of verbs as applicable to masculine and faminine nouns or nominatives. This is found to this day in Maithili dialects. As the late Mr. Saroda Caraṇa Mittra has shown, most of the Vaiṣṇavik poets of Bengal have built upon the foundation stone laid by Vidyāpati, i.e. they have freely used Vidyāpati's ideas and expressions. But the fact that so many of the epithets and expressions contained in Kalpa-taru can be explained only on reference to the Maithili literature, shows the direction from which its author drew his inspiration in spite of the fact that in Vidyapati's time the Maithili alphabetic characters were identical with the Bengali alphabetic characters and even to this day there is a striking resemblance between the two.[1]

Arguments adduced in favour of Vidyāpati's Maithili nationality by the late Babu Raj Kṛṣṇa Mukharjee in the "Bang Darśana" of Jyesta 1282, still hold good and may be summarised below: –

(1) Vidyāpati has mentioned the Mithila Rājās Śiva Siṃha, Rūpa Nārāyaṇa and Sivasiṃha's wife Lakṣimādevi in so many of his songs.
(2) Vidyāpati is found in the Maithili Pañjī.
(3) There are more interesting stories to be heard

[1] I need hardly enter into a discussion to illustrate my point. I can only refer those interested in the subject to the momentous work on Vidyāpati by Mr. Nagendra Natha Gupta and Mr. Saroda Caraṇa Mittra (Calcutta, 1316 F edition).

regarding Vidyāpati's life, death and work in Mithilā than in Bengal.

(4) The deed of gift inscribed on copperplate in favour of Vidyāpati by Raja Śíva Siṃha in respect of village Bispi in Mithilā (Darbhangā district) enabled a Brahmin family, said to have been descended from him to remain in possession of the village for centuries until ousted by the Settlement Authority who assessed it to Government Revenue.

(5) The copy of Bhāgawata written by Vidyāpati himself is still to be found in village Tarauni in the Darbhanga district.

It may also be mentioned that several books written by Vidyāpati such as Puruṣaparikṣā and Durgā Bhaktitaraṅgini, etc., are not to be found in use beyond Mithilā. These books mention the contemporary ruling family much in the same way as it is described in the Mithilā Pañjī. Vidyāpati's songs prevalent in Mithilā bear striking resemblance to the songs prevalent in Bengal and attributed to Vidyāpati.

His influence on the life and literature of Bengal is evident from the fact that even Caitanya, the greatest Vaiṣṇavik reformer used to recite the songs of the Maithila Vidyāpati in the streets of Nawadwipa where he was born. Most of the Vaiṣṇavik poets and followers of Śrī Caitanya have imitated the language and sentiments of Vidyāpati and Vidyāpati is even to this day known as the first poet of the Bengalee literature. The diction of the songs of Vidyāpati, which are known and sung in every part of Bengal, bears a striking resemblance to old Bengalee. His manuscripts do not differ from the written characters of the old Bengalee.

Though his songs appear to be love songs, it can be safely asserted that Vidyāpati's songs are full of philosophy and that there is nothing blasphemous or lewd or immoral in them. It must be admitted on all hands that they are all holy compositions which Caitanya himself used to sing. In fact it was the great reformer Caitanya who really immortalized Vidyāpati's songs.[1]

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[1] The following passage relating to Vidyāpati from Dr. Grierson may be quoted:—

The manuscript of the Kāvya-prakāśa-viveka, copied by the order of Vidyāpati, bears the date La. Sam. 291, i.e. 1410 A.D. The manuscript of Bhāgawata Purāṇa copied by Vidyāpati himself[1] bears the date La. Sam. 309, i.e. 1428.

Vidyāpati accordingly may be placed at the beginning of the 15th century.[2]

It is settled by one of Vidyāpati's compositions contained in his collection of songs written on palm leaves[3] (in characters resembling old Bengalee) which were preserved along with the Bhāgawata, in village Tarauni in the Darbhanga district, that Rājā Deva Siṃha died in La. Sam. 293, Śākā year 1324, month of Caitra; Kṛṣṇa-Ṣaṣṭi, on a Thursday and that Śivasiṁha ascended the throne on that date. Thus there is no difficulty as regards the settlement of Vidyāpati's time,[4] as he was undoubtedly a contemporary of Sivasiṃha. Vidyāpati's reference to the various ruling princes of Mithilā during his time also helps us to fix his date with some amount of certainty. He has mentioned Kīrti Siṃha[5] who lived towards the close of the 14th century. He has also referred to Dhira

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"I have grouped the songs into classes, according to the subjects of which they treat; one class for instance, treating of the first yearnings of the soul after God, another of the full possession of the soul by love for God, another for the estrangement of the soul, and so on. To understand the allegory, it may be taken as a general rule that Rādhā represents the soul, the messenger or duti, the evangelist or else the mediator, and Kṛṣṇa of course the deity" स्थानान्तरे "The glowing stanzas of Vidyāpati are read by the devout Hindu with as little of the baser part of human sensuousness as the Song of Solomon is by the Christian priest" अन्यत्र "They (Vidyāpati's poems) became great favourites of the more modern Vaiṣṇava reformer of Bengal—Caitanya, and through him, songs purporting to be by Vidyāpati have become as well known in Bengal households as the Bible is in an English one (page 54 of Vidyāpati's Padāwali by Nāgendra Nātha Gupta printed at Calcutta, 1316 F. edition).

[1] The village Tarauni in the Darbhanga district holds a copy of his Bhāgawata written by Bidyāpati himself. In the colophon of this copy occurs, "विद्यापतेर्लिपिरियमिति ।"

[2] Cf. Good Old Days of the Hon'ble John Company by W. H. Carey, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1907 edition, p 305, where it has been stated that Vidyāpati flourished about the year 1389 A.D.

[3] This palm leaf book though not transcribed by Vidyāpati himself must have been written either in his lifetime or soon after him. This is evidenced by its old appearance. It is very valuable as it contains songs prevalent both in Bengal and Mithilā.

[4] Cf. p. 4 of preface of Vidyapati's Padāvali by Narendra Natha Datta Calcutta, 1316 F. edition some of his songs such as:—

"सुकवि विद्यापति गाव
शिव शिवसिंह राव ॥"

[5] Cf. Kirti Simha.

Siṃha[1] who surely lived about 1440 A.D. Thus Vidyāpati surely lived in the first half of the 15th century A.D.

VIṢṆUDATTA JHĀ.

He is said to have been the nephew of Paṇḍita Narapati Jhā of Tarauni in the Darbhanga district. Paṇḍita Parameśwara Jhā, Librarian to the Mahārāja Bahadur of Darbhanga, who comes of that family, quotes some slokas which show that Mahārāja Pratāpa Siṁha granted him Jagir of village Simara in the Sitāmarhi Subdivision in the Muzaffarpur district on Jyeṣta sudi Dasami, 1171, corresponding to 1765 A.D. It is also said that the original sanada of the grant is still in possession of Paṇḍita Sri Nārāyaṇa Jhā of Tarauni in the Darbhanga district.

Certain ślokas are quoted by his descendants in his village which show that he got some villages (such as Simarā, etc., in Sitāmarhi Subdivision in Muzaffarpur) from Mahārāja Pratāpa Siṁha of Darbhanga. I have not yet been able to get an authentic list of his literary efforts. A commentary on "Anargha Rāghava" is ascribed to him. He may be placed in the latter half of the 18th century.

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[1] Cf. Dhira Siṃha.

APPENDIX B.

CLASSIFICATION OF ANCIENT AND MORDERN LITERARY ACTIVITIES OF MITHILĀ.

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CHAPTER I.

THE SAINTLY SCHOLARS OF MITHILĀ.

In the preceding pages, an account of the individual modern Sanskṛta writers of Mithilā has been given. But though these writers do not seem to go back to earlier than the 8th or the 9th century A.D. and though no manuscript appears to exist as dating earlier than the 11th century A.D., it must not for a moment be forgotten that the civilization of Mithilā goes back to hoary antiquity and the works of the modern Sanskṛta writers, which fall under certain recognised groups, are mainly based on their ancient prototypes. In the following pages, an attempt will be made to classify the works and to trace them to their ancient originals.

Sages and ancient Scholars of Mithilā.

Mithila is said to be the home of Navya Nyāya which is an amalgamation of the two (out of six)[1] systems of Hindu Philosophy, viz. Nyāya (i.e. logic) and Vāiśeṣikā (i.e. knowledge of substance): It is said that Gautama, the author of Nyāya-sūtra, and Vātṣyāyaṇa Pākśilaswāmin[2]

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1 Cf. the collected works of Max Müller, the six systems of Indian Philosophy, 1916 edition, pp. 84 and 85, where the six systems are described as:—

(i) Sānkhya; (ii) Yoga; (iii) Vedānta; (iv) Mīmāmsa; (v) Vaiśeṣika; and (vi) Nyāya.

2 Vātsyāyaṇa, the author of "Nyāya-sūtras" has been identified with Vatsyāyana, the author of Kámasūtra, a book on amours'—Cf. Note on the supposed identity of Vātsyāyaṇa and Kautilya, by Mr. R. Sarma Śastri in the Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol VI, pp. 210-216, also cf. Vātsyāyaṇa, the author of the Nyāya Vāṣya, by Pandit Satischandra Vidyabhuṣan, Indian Ant., 1915, April, p. 82

Neither in the "Nyāya-sūtra" nor in the "Kāmasūtra" does he say where he composed his work. He mentions (in the Kamasūtra) "Nāgar" and "Nāgarikyahs"

(i) तथाविधा रहसि प्रकाशन्ते नागरिक्यः । Benares edi p. 127.

(ii) न तु स्वयमौपरिष्टकमाचरन्ति नागरकाः । Benares edi. p. 295.

and his commentator Jayamangala without any justification understands "Nāgara" to mean Pataliputra (modern Patna) But in fact the author of Kamasūtra

(the author of Nyāyabhāṣya, the commentary on Nyāya-sūtra), the originators of this system, lived in Mithilā but this cannot be said as yet to have been conclusively established.

Gautama a native of Mithilā.

The Bālmiki Rāmāyaṇa tells us that Rāma came to the place of Gautama after crossing the rivers Sone and Ganges and visiting Raja Sumati of Baisāli and before reaching Janakapura, and that he liberated the soul of Gautama's wife, Ahilyā who had been turned into a stone near Gautama's place. The traditional situation of this place is the Tirtha (i.e. holy place) of Ahiyari (i.e. Ahilyāsthāna, i.e. Ahilya's place) near Kamtaula in Darbhanga District. It may therefore be taken especially on Balmiki's authority that Gautama lived in Mithilā and was a Maithila.[1]

But we do not know whether Gautama, the author of the 'Nyāya-sūtra' was identical with the Gautama of Bālmiki Rāmāyaṇa. There was a Gautama who wrote the Gautama Dharmaśāstra which can hardly date from later than the 5th century B.C.[2]

Also it is well known that "Gautamas" are mentioned in the "Brāhmaṇa" (Cir. 500 B.C.,[3]) as spiritual teachers.[4]

Also the Sakyas of Kapilavastu (Cir. 500 B.C.) among whom Buddha[5] was born, were called "Gautamas."

Though the early date (500 B.C.) for Gautama, the author of the Nyāya-sūtra, is not recognised by all who have made a special study of the subject, it is admitted that Dingnāga who has interpreted the Nyāya system in a Buddhist sense has been mentioned by the famous Sams-

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makes only meagre mention of places in Eastern India and shows his familiarity only with Western India in detail. His "Nāgara" must therefore be in Western India and an ancient city called "Nagara" has been indentified with ruins scattered over an area of nearly 45 sqr. miles in extent in the Jayapore Estate, 25 miles to the south-south-east of Tonk and 45 miles to the north-north-east of Bundi.

Cf. the Report on Archaeological Survey of India, by Cunningham, Vol. VI, pp. 161–2.

[1] आसीद्ब्रह्मपुरी नाम्ना मिथिलायां विराजिता। तस्यां विराजते नित्य गौतमो नाम तापसः। अहल्यानामतत्पत्नी पतिव्रता प्रियम्वदा। सर्व लक्षण सम्पूर्णा ज्योत्स्ना सर्वाङ्ग सुन्दरी।

[2] Cf. Macdonell's Sanskrit Literature, 1917, page 260.

[3] Cf. page 202 of Macdonell's Sanskrit Literature, 1917 edition.

[4] Cf. page 215 of do. do.

[5] Cf. do. do. do.

kṛta poet Kāli Dāsa in his famous work "Meghadūta." Now Kāli Dāsa is said to have lived not later than the 6th century A.D. and it may be safely assumed that Dingnāga was a contemporary of Kāli Dāsa if he did not live before Kāli Dāsa's time, and in any case it is certain that the "Nyāya-sūtra" and its author Gautama existed some considerable time before Kāli Dāsa wrote his "Meghadūta" in the 6th century A.D.[1]

All this shows that though it is not certain when Gautama, the author of the Nyāya-sūtra lived and whether he was a native of Mithilā, it is most probable that he existed about 500 B.C.[2] and that he worked for a major portion of his life in Mithilā which has always been the home of "Nyāya" philosophy.

It is generally recognised that Nyāya and Vaiśeṣikā are dry and unimaginative, and consist of business-like expositions of what can be known, either of the world which surrounds us or of the world within us, that is, of our faculties or powers of perceiving, conceiving, or reasoning on one side, and the objects which they present to us, on the other. It should be remembered that, like the Sāṁkhya and Yoga and to a certain extent like the Pūrva and Uttara Mimāmsā, the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika also have been treated as forming but one discipline. We possess indeed a separate body of Nyāya-sūtras and another of Vaiśeṣika-sūtras, and these with their reputed authors, Gautama and Kanāda, have long been accepted as the original sources whence these two streams of the ancient philosophy of India proceeded.

It should always be borne in mind that the Sūtras ascribed to Gautama and Kanāda presuppose a long previous development of philosophical thought and instead of regarding the two as independent streams, it seems far

1 Cf. the collected works of Max Müller, the six systems of Indian Philosophy, 1916 edition, page 364

Also cf. Prof. Satish Chandra Vidyabhusan in journal of Buddhist Text Society IV, Parts III and IV, page 16.

Also cf. pp. 211 to 214 of "Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, Vol. XV;" Yan Chwang Vol II, Thomas Waters, R.A.S. 1905.

Also Weber's Ind. lit. p. 209, Note 245

2 Cf. The arguments advanced by Mahādeo Rājārāma Bodas, the Tarkasamgraha of Annambhatta, with the author's Dipikā and Govardhana's Nyayabodhini, prepared by the late Rao Bahadur Yasavanta Vasadeo Athalya and published with critical and explanatory notes, Bombay, 1897.

more likely that there existed at first an as yet undifferentiated body of half philosophical, half popular thought, bearing on things that can be known, the Padārthas, i.e. *omne scibile*, and on the means of acquiring such knowledge, from which at a later time, according to the preponderance of either the one or the other subject, the two systems of Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya branched off. These two systems shared of course many things in common, and hence we can well understand that at a later time they should have been drawn together again and treated as one.[1]

It may be noted here that the Vaiśeṣikā system of Kanāda is generally placed between the 1st century A.D. and the 6th century A.D.

This is however certain that Navya Nyāya or the amalgamation of the two systems of Nyāya and Vaiśeṣikā became prominent from the 12th or the 13th century A.D., the date of Udayanācāryya.

NOTES ON NYĀYA AND VAIŚEṢIKĀ SYSTEMS.

It may look out of place here to give a detailed account of the Nyāya and the Vaiśeṣikā systems in a work like this, but the importance of the system for Mithilā and the possible interest of some readers may excuse an attempt.

The systems of Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya.

The "Vaiśeṣika" and the "Nyāya," form a closely connected pair, since a strict classification of ideas, as well as the explanation of the origin of the world from atoms, is common to both. The Vaiśeṣika is described in the Brāhmaṇa sūtras as undeserving of attention, because it had no adherents. This was certainly not the case in later times, when this system became very popular. It received its name from the category of "particularity" (viśeṣ) on which great stress is laid in its theory of atoms. The memory of its founder is only preserved in his nickname Kanāda (also Kanabhuj or Kana-bhakṣa), which means "atom-eater."

The main importance of the system lies in the logical

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1 Cf. the collected works of F. Max Muller. The six systems of Indian Philosophy, pages 362–363

2 do. do. page 439.

categories which it set up and under which it classed all phenomena. The six which it originally set up are substance, quality, motion, generality, particularity, and inherence. They are rigorously defined and further subdivided The most interesting is that of inherence or inseparable connection (*samavāya*), which, being clearly distinguished from that of accident or separable connection (*samyoga*), is described as the relation between a thing and its properties, the whole and its parts, genus and species, motion and the object in motion. Later was added a seventh, that of non-existence (*abhāva*), which, by affording special facilities for the display of subtlety has had a momentous influence on Indian logic. This category was further subdivided into prior and posterior non-existence (which we should respectively call future and past non-existence), mutual non-existence (as between a jar and cloth), absolute non-existence (as fire in water).

Though largely concerned with these categories, the Vaiśeṣika[1] system aimed at attaining a comprehensive philosophic view in connection with them. Thus while dealing with the category of "substance" it develops its theory of the origin of the world from atoms. The consideration of the category of "quality" similarly leads to its treatment of psychology, which is remarkable and has analogies with that of the Sānkhya. Soul is here regarded as without beginning or end, and all-pervading, subject to the limitations of neither time nor space. Intimately connected with soul is "mind" (mānas), the internal organ of thought, which alone enables the soul to know not only external objects but its own qualities. As this organ is, in contrast with the soul, an atom, it can only comprehend a single object at any given moment. This explains why the soul cannot be conscious of all objects simultaneously.

[1] It does not contain much that is peculiar to it, even the theory of *Anus* or atoms, generally cited as its peculiar character, is evidently known to the Nyāya, though it is more fully developed by the Vaiseṣikas. It begins with the usual promise of teaching something from which springs elevation or the *summum bonum*, and that something Kanáda calls Dhárma or merit. From a particular kind of merit springs, according to Kanada, true knowledge of certain Padarthas, or categories, and from this once more the *summum bonum* These categories or predicaments were believed to contain an enumeration of all things capable of being named, i.e. of being known Cf. pp 440-41 of Max Muller's "Collected Works, of the six systems of Indian Philosophy."

The Nyāya[1] system in its present form is only a development and complement of that of Kanāda, its metaphysics, and psychology being the same. Its specific character consists in its being a very detailed and acute exposition of formal logic. As such it has remained the foundation of philosophical studies in India down to the present day. Besides dealing fully with the means of knowledge, which it states to be perception, inference, analogy, and trustworthy evidence, it treats exhaustively of syllogisms and fallacies. It is interesting to note that the Indian mind here independently arrived at an exposition of the syllogism as the form of deductive reasoning. The text book of this system is the Nyāya-sūtra of Gautama. The importance here attached to logic appears from the very first aphorism, which enumerates sixteen logic notions with the remark that salvation depends on a correct knowledge of their nature.

Neither the Vaiśeṣika nor the Nyāya-sūtras originally accepted the existence of God; and though both schools later became theistic, they never went so far as to assume

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1 Though Nyāya has always been translated by logic, we must not imagine that the Nyāya-sūtras are anything like our modern treatises on formal logic. There is, no doubt, a greater amount of space allowed to logical questions in these than in any of the other systems of Indian Philosophy, but originally the name of Nyāya would have been quite as applicable to the Pūrva-Mimamsā. which is actually called Nyāya in such works, for instance, as Sayana's Nyāyamālā-vistāra, published by Goldstucker. Nor is logic the sole or chief end of Gautama's philosophy. Its chief end, like that of the other Darsanas, is salvation, the *summum bonum* which is promised to all This *summum bonum* is called by Gautama Nihsreyasa, literally that which has nothing better, the *nonplus ultra* of blessedness. This blessedness, according to the ancient commentator Vatsyāyana, is described as consisting in renunciation with regard to all the pleasures of this life, and in the non-acceptance of, or indifference to any rewards in the life to come; as being in fact what Brahman is, without fear, without desire, without decay, and without death. Even this Brahmanhood must not be an object of desire, for such desire would at once produce a kind of bondage, and prevent that perfect freedom from all fear or hope, which is to follow by itself, but should not be yearned for. This perfect state of freedom, or resignation, can, according to Gautama, be realised in one way only, namely, by knowledge, and in this case, by a knowledge of the sixteen great topics of the Nyāya-philosophy.

The Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika systems, though they also aim at salvation, are satisfied with pointing out the means of it as consisting in correct knowledge, such as can only be obtained from a clear apprehension of the sixteen topics treated by Gautama, or the six or seven categories put forward by Kanāda. These two philosophies, agreeing as they do among themselves, seem to differ very characteristically from all the others in so far as they admit of nothing invisible or transcendent (Avyakta), whether corresponding to Brāhman or to Prakṛti. They are satisfied with teaching that the soul is different from the body, and they think that, if this belief in the body as our own is once surrendered, our sufferings, which always reach us through the body, will cease by themselves. (Cf. collected works of Max Müller, the six systems of Indian Philosophy, page 363, 1915 edition.)

a creator of matter. Their theology is first found developed in Udayanācāryya's *Kusumāñjali* which was written about 1200 A.D., and in works which deal with the two systems conjointly. Here God is regarded as a "special" soul, which differs from all other individual, eternal souls in its exemption from all qualities connected with transmigration, and the possession of the power and knowledge qualifying it to be a regulator of the universe.[1]

The Mithilā writers on Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika beginning with Udayanācāryya date from the 12th century A.D. and have been dealt with separately.[2]

Mithilā famous for Smṛti.

But Mithilā has been famous not only for Nyāya but also for Smṛti. Smṛti literally means memory and is the system that embodies traditions derived from ancient sages regarding religious and civil usage[4] and its author Yajñavalkya (who flourished at the court of king Janaka much earlier than the 6th century B.C.[5]

The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa in which so much has been said about Yajñavalkya, is admitted by Macdonell and other European scholars to be as old as, if not older, than the 5th century B.C.[6]

The existing version of the Yajñavalkya Smṛti is however assigned to the period between the 1st and 3rd century A.D.[7]

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1 Macdonell's Sanskrit Literature, pages 403–05. 2 Cf. Appendix A

3 The Hindus have divided the whole of their ancient literature into two parts, which really mean two periods, Srutam, what was heard, and was not the work of men or any personal being, human or divine, and Smṛtam, what was remembered, and has always been treated as the work of an individual whether man or god. Śrutam or Śruti came afterwards to mean what has been revealed, exactly as we understand that word, while Smṛtam or Smṛti comprised all that was recognised as possessing human authority only, so that if there ever was a conflict between the two, Smṛti or tradition might at once be overruled by what was called Sruti or revelation.

Smṛti is allied with the Mimāmsā system of Hindu philosophy.

Brahma-Mimamsa (or Pūrva-Mimamsa of Bādarāyaṇa) or the Vedanta recognises salvation as due to knowledge of the Brahman, which knowledge produces at once the recognition of oneself as in reality Brahman (Brahmavid Brahma eva Bhavati), "He who knows Brahman is Brahman indeed".

The other Mimamsa, that of Jaimini (Uttara-Mimamsā) diverges widely from that of Bādarāyaṇa. It lays its chief stress on works (Karman) and their right performance, and holds that salvation may be obtained through the performance of such works, if only they are performed without any desire of rewards, whether on earth or in heaven.

Thus it is clear that the Mimāmsā of Jaimini is Smṛtic.

4 Cf. Macdonell's Sanskrit Literature, 1917, page 35. 5 Cf. Part I,

6 Cf. Macdonell's Sanskrit Literature, 1905, pages 202–216.

7 do. do. do. page 429.

In this view it will be admitted on all hands that the existing version of the Yajñavalkya Smṛti is an adaptation of its original which must be assigned to the 5th century B.C.[1]

Literary awakenings in Mithilā.

There were two periods in Mithilā when writers on Smṛti especially flourished, the first, at the beginning of the 14th century A.D., i.e. about 1325 A.D. when Harisiṁha of Siṁrāon led his invasion to Nepal; and the second, with the advent of the Śrotriya dynasty founded by Kāmeśa in the same century. The first period is represented by Candeśvara's great compilation called the Ratnākara; and the second by a host of writers—Vācaspaṭi, Vardhamāna, Misarū Misra and others. Candeśvara is represented in this collection by five works, viz. Dānavākyāvali, Gṛhastharatnākara, Kālanirnaya, Trikāṇḍikāsūtravyākhyā, and Kṛtyaratnākara, dated 322 La. Sam. To the second period belong Śrāddhacintāmani by Vācāspati Miśra, Vardhamāna's Paribhāṣā and fragments of Sugatisopāna by Ganeśvara and Svarga-sopāna by Kṛṣṇa.[2]

The works of the individual Nyāya, Vaiseṣikā and Smṛti writers have been dealt with separately.[3]

The Maithila writers have also distinguished themselves by their work on :—

(i) Administration or politics;
(ii) Music;
(iii) Duta Kāvyas, etc., etc.

Administrative literature in Mithilā.

Just about the time of the Muhammadan conquest of Mithilā at the beginning of the 14th century A.D., Candeśwara, the minister of Bhaveśa, one of the early Karnatic kings, wrote a work (Niti-ratnākara) on politics covering the whole ground of administration military, civil, judicial and so on.[4]

There is a commentary on music in the Nepal Library

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1 Cf. pages 48 and 49 of Jolley's "Outlines of a history of the Hindu law," Calcutta, 1885.

2 Page 4 of the Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts 1901–02 to 1905–06.

3 Cf., appendix A.

4 Cf. page 3 of the Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts (1895–1900) by H. P. Sastri.

named "Saṅgitabhāṣkara" which is said to have been composed by Jagajjyotirmalla with the help of a Maithila Paṇḍita Vaṁgamaṇi in the 17th century A.D.[1]

Maithilā commentaries on music.

Gītadigaṁbara is a drama written in the 17th century in imitation of the Gitagovinda of Jayadeva, by Vaṁsamaṇi, a Maithila Brāhmaṇa, who lived in Nepal.[2]

Imitation of Gitagovinda in Mithilā.

The works written in imitation of Kālidāsa's Meghadūta are known as Dūta Kāvyas. The Bengalees have excelled in this form of poetry and have led the Maithilas to imitate their example. Gaṅgānanda Kavīndra, a Maithila Brāhmaṇa of the 17th century and author of "Bhṛṅga Dūta" sends the black bee as a messenger to the heroine[3] from a lover darker than the new cloud, weak and emaciated by anxiety for the object of his love.

Duta-Kavyas in Mithilā

CHAPTER II.

Mithilā the Home of Nyāya and Smṛti.

Mithilā, the land of Nyāya and Smṛti, passed on the torch of learning in these branches to Bengal. The traditional story still prevails how Pakṣadhara Miśra in the 14th century and probably his predecessors in Mithilā used to teach students from Bengāl and that though the then Maithila Paṇḍitas would not allow the outsiders to take any notes of the learning imparted by them, yet the Bengālee learners used to commit to memory all that was taught and thus carried the valuable teachings to different parts of Bengāl, specially to Nadiā. The story of how Bāśudeva by the power of his memory brought the Nyāya philosophy from Mithilā to Nawadvipa (Nadiā) is well known. Bāśudeva's learning was not confined to Nyāya or logic; he taught his pupils Smṛti and tantras and his

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1 Cf. page 11 of the Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts (1895–1900) by H. P. Sastri.

2 Cf. page 18 of the Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts (1895–1900) by H. P. Sastri.

3 Cf. page 19 do. do. do. do.

pupil Raghunātha is said to have held his own in argument against Mithilā's great Paṇḍitas. All these go to bear testimony to the influence which Mithilā once exercised on Bengal.

APPENDIX C.

Brāhmaṇa Marriage in Mithilā.

Of the approved forms of Hindu marriages,[1] the "Ārṣa" form of marriage is prevalent in Mithilā and is celebrated in accordance with the Vedic and Sastric *mantras* (hymns) accompanied by numerous ceremonies, the most important of which have been briefly described in the following paragraphs:—

Early History of Marriage in Mithilā.—In ancient times when the Maithila Brāhmaṇas[2] could not go from village to village in search of bride or bridegroom for their sons or daughters for fear of being interrupted in their daily performance of the *agni-hotra* ceremonies (i.e. the ceremony consisting in the offerings of oblations to consecrated fire), they founded a Dharma Kṣetra in the village of Saurātha in the district of Darbhanga. They also established a "Council of Marriage" and wrote a

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[1] *General definition of Marriage.*—According to the Hindu Sastras marriage is the acceptance by the bridegroom of the bride, constituting her his wife. It is more a religious than a secular institution and is the last of the ten sacraments or purifying ceremonies

Ideal of Marriage—The Hindu ideal of marriage is that it is a holy union for the performance of religious duties. It is therefore strictly enjoined by the Hindu Sastras that the idea of sexual pleasure must not be associated with the holy nuptial rite and where, however, such pleasure is the predominant idea in the mind of a party to it, it must be condemned as a purely selfish and secular marriage and as being unworthy of a person having a sense of spiritual responsiblity.

Accordingly the sages enjoined the marriage of girls before the signs of puberty make their appearance. There were also other reasons which actuated the sages to enjoin such a rule on the Hindu community. They were (i) to admit the girl into the family of the bridegroom at an age when her mind and character are yet unformed so that she may become assimilated and engrafted, as it were, to it in the same way as a member born in it; and (ii) to secure the chastity of females which is the foundation of the happiness of a Hindu home.

Forms of Marriage.—The Hindu sages divided marriages into eight kinds, viz. Brāhma, Daiva, Ārṣa, Prajāpatya, Gandharva, Asura, Rakṣasa and Paisāca. Of these, the first four are the approved kinds of marriage, as the male issue of these confers special spiritual benefit on the ancestors, and the last four belong to the condemned and censured class.

For an account of Hindu system of marriages, see pages 35 to 39 of Elphinstone's History of India, London, 1874 edition.

[2] These notes apply to almost all the four sections of the Maithila Brahmaṇas, viz. Śrotriya, Yojña, Pañji Baddha, and Sâdharaṇa (Jaibāra).

For a detailed account of these marriages, see an article communicated by Maharaja Sir Rāmeśwara Siṁha of Darbhanga, pages 515–542 of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. III, part iv, December, 1917.

"Pañji Śāśtra" dealing with prohibited degrees for marriage. When there was a talk about a marriage, the parties to it first went to the "Pañji Kāra" to consult him about prohibited degrees and if the latter gave his consent to the proposed marriage and issued a written order for the same, the marriage was solemnized. But if on a reference to the "Pañji Śāstra" he found any relationship existing within the 7th degree between the boy and the damsel, he would select some one else with whom the marriage might be legally celebrated This practice still continues in Mithilā and no marriage takes place without consulting the "Pañji Kāras."

It should also be remarked here that a person called "Ghataka" also sits on the "Council of Marriage" and settles the terms of marriage between the parties.

Ceremonies.—I need not enter, in detail, into the numerous ceremonies that are generally observed in marriages in Mithilā But I would mention those ceremonies only that are essential for the completion of a marriage

On receipt of the Pañji Kāra's written order for the marriage, the bride's father takes the bridegroom's right hand in his own and thus a moral contract of betrothal is then deemed to be established. Then on the date fixed for marriage, the bridegroom goes to the bride's house with his friends and relatives and the marriage is performed there with great pomp.

The following ceremonies are generally observed at the time of a marriage in Mithilā :—

Ceremony of Chumāon or Kissing.—When on the day of marriage, the bridegroom is about to start from his house for that of the bride, his female relatives perform the ceremony of *chumāon* (or kissing) attended with other local ceremonies which are not to be found in any book on marriage. It must be noted here that on the day of marriage both the bride and the bridegroom observe a fast.

Aiñā kā pān.—When the bridegroom reaches the house of the bride, the female inmates of the latter's house send through a special messenger some betel leaves (*pān*) and nuts (*supāri*) kept in a small flat dish (*chipi*) to the bridegroom who takes out one of the betel leaves putting in its stead some silver and copper coins.

The next important ceremony is that of "Mātṛika Pūjā" which is performed by the bride's father to invoke the blessings of the sixteen "Mātrikās" (mothers).

After performing a few other minor ceremonies the bridegroom is made to take his stand in the *maṇḍapa* facing eastward. The *Yajamāna* (the bride's father—literally, the grantor) then addresses him in loving tones, gives him a *biththar* (or seat) to sit on and asks him to sit in the *maṇḍapa* facing northward When he is comfortably seated there, the bride is brought there from her house and is decked with new clothes and ornaments presented by the bridegroom. The latter also puts on new clothes. The *Yajamāna* then takes hold of one end of the *Cādara* worn by them and ties these together. This ceremony is called *gānthbandhana*.

Another important ceremony is that of *kanyādāna* or the gift of the bride to the bridegroom. When the ceremony of *gānthbandhana* is over the *Yajamāna* places the left hand of the bride over the right hand of the bridegroom and says, "I give such and such a girl adorned with ornaments on such and such a day, month, *pakṣa*, to such and such a man of such and such *gotra* and *pariwāra* (family) for the attainment of a particular region of heaven." Then he gives two cows or two gold moharas to the bridegroom as *Dakṣiṇā* (fee). On the 4th day the ceremony of *chathurthi* is performed and the marriage is then consummated. This over the bridegroom leaves the bride's house with the bride on the same day the marriage is consummated or on the 5th, 7th or 9th day from the day of the marriage. Otherwise the bride comes to the bridegroom's house at the end of one, three or five years.

Polygamy.—The Hindu law permits a man to have more wives than one at the same time, and this practice is perhaps nowhere more popular than in Mithilā. There it was the practice to have twenty, thirty and even forty wives at the same time, but now monogamy is the general rule, though there are still instances which show that the old custom of having a number of wives has not altogether disappeared from the country.

APPENDIX D.

Maithilī Dialect.

It is difficult to say how old is the Maithilī dialect,[1] but it is certain that both the dialect and its written characters existed in distinct forms in the early first half of the 14th century A.D. when Jyotirīśvara Kavi Śekharācāryya[2] wrote his Varṇaṇaratnākara and Dhūrta Samāgama. Vidyāpati who lived in the first half of the 15th century A.D. has made this dialect immortal by his compositions, especially the songs, Kīrtilatā, Kīrtipatākā, and the dramas Gauri Swayambara, Rukmiṇī Swayambara attributed to him. Thus it is certain that this dialect is at least 600 years old. But it must be remembered that the written characters of Maithilī in which Jyotirīśwara and Vidyāpati wrote (though they differ considerably from the Devanāgari characters and even from the present-day written characters of Maithilī a little) bear a striking resemblance to the ancient written characters of Bengal. In fact, the latter are generally known as "Tirutā" (Tirhut ?) in Bengal, and there can be little doubt that the ancient Bengalee characters which show considerable difference from the modern Bengalee characters, were borrowed from Mithilā or had a common origin with the Maithilī characters. It is also admitted that the ancient Maithilī dialect as used by Vidyāpati and Jyotirīśwara, have much in common with the ancient Bengalee—though differences[4] are evident in spelling, formation of verbs and pronunciations. Though the ancient Maithilī writers have used some expressions which are distinctly Maithilī (i.e. not found in Bengalee) and though Vidyāpati is said to have resorted not infrequently to "Vraja Bolī" (i.e. the dialect used in Vraja or the locality including Muttrā and

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[1] That is the dialect spoken in North Bihar in the districts of Muzaffarpur, Champaran, Darbhangah, North Monghyr and North Bhagalpur and Purneah.

[2] Cf. Jyotriswara Kavisekhartācāryya.

[3] Cf. Sāhitya Viṣayaka Prastāva, Prathāma Bhāga by Paṇḍita Rāmagati Nyāyaratna.

[4] Cf. the introduction to Vidyāpati by Kālī Prasanna Kāvyavisārada, 1910, Calcutta edition.

Brindābana sacred to the memory of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā), yet it cannot be denied that resemblance between ancient Maithilī and ancient Bengalee is considerable. This must be obvious to those who have compared the compositions of Vidyāpati (Maithilī) and Caṇḍīdāsa (Bengalee) who are believed to have been contemporaries. It may thus be reasonably assumed that both ancient Bengalee and ancient Maithilī sprang from a common stock. But though this common stock has been regarded to be Saṁskṛta and its off-shoot Prākrta, a theory which applies as much to Bengalee and Maithilī as to any other set of Indian dialects, showing some resemblance to and admixture of Saṁskṛta words, it must be admitted that it is not easy to hit exactly upon the common origin. It has been suggested that a near approach is made to this common fountain-head when we know that (1) the Sena kings of Gauḍa (modern Navadwīpa or Nuddeah in Bengal) divided their kingdom into five parts[1] including Mithilā; (2) that king Lakṣmaṇa Sena inaugurated an era of his own (called Lakṣamaṇa Sena Samvata or era) about the year 1119 A.D., which though dropped in Bengal, is used to this day in Mithilā; and (3) that there was a local or provincial dialect called "Gauḍi" (as mentioned in the Kāvyādarśa) which must have flourished during the Sena period and which has left its impress on the literature of the time. It may be regarded as most probable that "Maithilī" had some connection with this Gauḍi, especially as so many of the learned men of Mithilā flourished under the Sena kings. But whether Gauḍi itself was indebted to Maithilī for its written characters as well as its vocabulary (as claimed by many Maithilas) is doubtful, though the use of the Maithilī characters by the Bengalee writers of the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries, adoptions of Maithili words, expressions, and style of compositions (especially those of Vidyāpati) by the Vaiṣṇavic poets of Bengal in those centuries, point to the fact that the Maithilī dialect is much older than, and must have helped the growth of "Bengalee." This view is further confirmed by the tradition which is generally admitted that students from Bengal used to flock to Mithilā to learn from Pakṣadhara[2] Miśra who lived

[1] They were Rarha, Barendra, Bangā, Bagari, and Mithilā.
[2] Cf Jayadeva or Pakṣadhara.

in the first half of the 15th century A.D. and is believed to have been a contemporary of Vidyāpati Thakkura.[1]

Whatever may be its exact origin, it is now generally believed that the Maithilī is one of the old dialects which saw the light on the disruption of the Prākṛta (consequent, as many believe, on the dismemberment of Harṣa's empire about the middle of the 7th century A D. and as a result of foreign incursions which followed this dismemberment) which in itself was a corruption of the Saṃskṛta and that it is more than 600 years old.

It is not easy to trace the gradual stages of development through which the Maithilī has passed. We know however, that Rājās Maheśa Thakkura and Mahinātha Thakkura who belonged to the 16th or early 17th century A.D., are accredited popularly with the authorship of some religious songs heard in Mithilā. Locana, author of Rāja Tarangini and Naiṣada Kābya, is said to have been patronised by Mahinatha Thakkura. One of the prominent Maithilī writers in the 17th century A.D. is Rāmadāśa who wrote the Ananda Vijaya Nātaka—a drama in mixed Maithilī and Prākṛta. And to the early 18th century A.D. belongs Harinātha Upādhyāya, author of the "Pārijāta Haraṇa Nātaka" in mixed Maithilī and Prākṛta.

The 18th and the 19th centuries saw a crop of writers (in the Maithilī dialect) including Nandipati, author of the dramas Kṛṣṇa Kelimālā and Kādamkelīmālā, Rāmapati, Keśava, Cakrapāṇi, Caturbhuja, Jayānanda, Sārasapati, Modanāvāyana, Govinda Dāsa, Gaṇanātha (translator of Ādiparva Mahābhārata), Hari Kiṁkara, Lakṣmīnātha, Rāmadāsa, Lālakavi (author of Gauḍipariṇaya Nātaka and several other compositions), Raghunandan Dāsa (author of Uttara Rāmacarita and Mithilā Nataka), Lāladāsa (author of Durgāsaptasati), Bhanjan, Kavi, Bhānukavi (author of Pārvati Haraṇa Nātaka), Bhavanāth Miśra (author of Maithilī Koṣa, a lexicon) and a host of others.

Manbodha Miśra wrote his Harivamśa, Kṛṣṇa Janma, and Songs and Gaṅgādāśa translated a part of the Mahābhārata. Harṣanātha Jhā who wrote Uṣā Haraṇa Nātaka and some other works, and Paṇḍita Candā who wrote his Maithilī Rāmāyaṇa and several other works, received

[1] Cf. Vidyāpati Thakkura.

patronage from the late Mahārājā, Lakṣmiśwara Simha of Darbhanga in the second half of the 19th century A.D. The Maithilī grammatical treatises by Dr. Grierson, Hali Jhā and Dīnbandhu Jhā are useful works. To Dr. Grierson belongs the credit of having done so much for the Maithilī by his grammatical and philological investigations. Mithilā Sabda Prakāśa is a very useful work on Maithila Vocabulary. Among rhetorical works in the Maithilā dialect, may be mentioned Candravarṇa, Alamkāravinyāsa, and Candomālā, etc. In fact, there have been too many writers in the Maithilī dialect especially of songs, in the 19th century—though most of them of not much value. Among these may be mentioned the songs of Lakṣmīnātha and Lakṣmīpati heard in Darbhanga and North Bhagalpore districts.

Even to-day a good many writers (such as Paṇḍitas Parmeśwara Jhā and Ceta Nātha Jhā) are busy with their Maithilī compositions.

This dialect has a bright future before it and it is to be hoped that authors will be forthcoming who will write works of really valuable and useful character from literary as well as from practical stand-point.

APPENDIX E.

BETTIAH.

The Bettiah Estate was carved out towards the end of the 16th century by one Ugra Sena Simha whose son Gaja Simha received the title of Rājā from emperor Shah Jahan (1628–58). Muhammadan historians have called the Rajas of Bettiah independent rulers.[1] In Riyazu-s-salatin, the Rājā is described as a turbulant chief whose territory had never been entered by the army of the Nazims and who had never acknowledged the dominion of any of the Subadars. Ali Vardi Khan led an expedition against the Rājā of Bettiah in 1729 and brought him under subjection.[2] In 1748, the Rajā of Bettiah entered into alliance with the Afghan Chiefs of Darbhanga. But

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1 Babar mentions Ziparan (Champaran) a separate revenue unit or sircar (Tuzaqi Babari, Elliot's Vol. IV, page 262). The Ain i-Akbari also mentions Champaran as a separate sirkar (Jarret's Translation, Vol. II—"The Ten Years' Settlement").

At an earlier date, the Persian Wakiat-i-Mushtaki by Shaikh Razkula Mustaki gives an account of Champaran. Mian Hussain Farmuli, Jagirdar of Saran and Champaran and his general Mughala Khani, attacked and looted the Rāja of Champaran about the year 1490 (Elliot's History of India, Vol. IV, pages 546–47.)

At the engagement at Hajipur in Akbar's time, about 1580, Rajā Kachiti or Gajpati is mentioned as an ally of the emperor (Tabakat-i-Akbari, Elliot's Vol. V, page 377—also pages 167–68 of Lowe's Translation of Al Badaoni, Vol. II, 1884 edition.

Then again, it is related that Gajpati, a zamindar of the neighbourhood of Hajipur revolted about 1582 and had to be suppressed by Shahbaj Khan under Akbar's orders (pages 244–45 and 293 of Lowe's translation of Al-Badaoni, Vol. II, 1884 edition)

Who could this Gajpati or Kachiti be? Was he the Rājā of Champaran and founder of the Bettiah family?

There is little doubt that Gajpati was a zamindar of Champaran.

Again Rāja Udi Karana, the zamindar of Champaran is said to have held the Imperial forces near Hajipur after the year 1590 (pages 36 and 40 of Akbar-Nama of Abul Fazal, Elliot Vol. VI, 1875 edition).

It will thus appear that sircar of Champaran was in ancient times under one ruler. But the question now arises who these Rājās of Champaran were and who are represented in blood by the Rājās of Bettiah.

This we know that Champaran or even Mithilā was once ruled by the Rājās of Simrāon. An account of this Simrāon family has been given in the main body.

But was Ugra Sena Simha or his son Gaja Simha descended from Simrāon family? If not he actually replaced Simrāon family and must have kept his capital there for sometime. We know that Rajā Mahinātha Thakkura of Darbhanga, who flourished about the year 1668, is traditionally said to have fought with Rājā Gaja Simha of Simraon.

2 Ali Vardi Khan had been to Bettiah to quell the rebellious Rājā in the year 1730 (Shair-ul-Mutākharim and Riyazu's Salatin, p. 296 translated by M. Abdul Salam, 1904 edition).

when the Afghans were defeated by Ali Vardi Khan, he offered a Nazar of three lacs to the Subadar in order to pacify him.[1] In 1759 Caillaud advanced against the fort of Bettiah, and compelled the Rājā to submit.[2] In 1762 another expedition was sent against him by Mir Kasim Ali Khan[3] and his fort was again captured; and in 1766 a third expedition under Sir Robert Barker was necessary to establish British authority. In 1763 Rājā Jugala Keśwara Siṁha, who was son of the daughter of Rājā Dhurupa Siṁha, succeeded him.

This Rājā soon came into conflict with the East India Company. He fell into arrears of revenue, and in the words of the Judges of the *Diwany Adalat* "rebelled and fought with the forces of the British Government, was defeated and fled to Bundelkhand for safety, and his *Rajgi* was seized upon and brought under the direct management of the Company." The attempt to manage the estate proved, however, a complete failure; and the Company, finding that its revenue grew less and less, persuaded Jugala Keśwara Siṁha to return. Then they settled with him *paraganas* Majhawā and Simrāon, the remainder of the district being given to his cousins, Śrī Kisuna Siṁha and Abdhut Siṁha. They were grandsons of Gaja Siṁha and became founders of the Sheohar (in the Muzaffarpur district) and of the Madhuban (in the Champaran district) families.

The same two *paraganas* of Majhawā and Simrāon were settled with Bīra Keśwara Siṁha, the son of Jugala Keśwara Siṁha, at the Decennial Settlement in 1791, and still constitute the greater part of the Bettiah Rāja estate. Bīra Keśwara Siṁha played a prominent part in the dispute which led to the Nepalese war, and was succeeded in 1816 by Ānanda Keśwarā Siṁha, on whom Lord William Bentinck conferred the title of Mahārāja Bahadur as a

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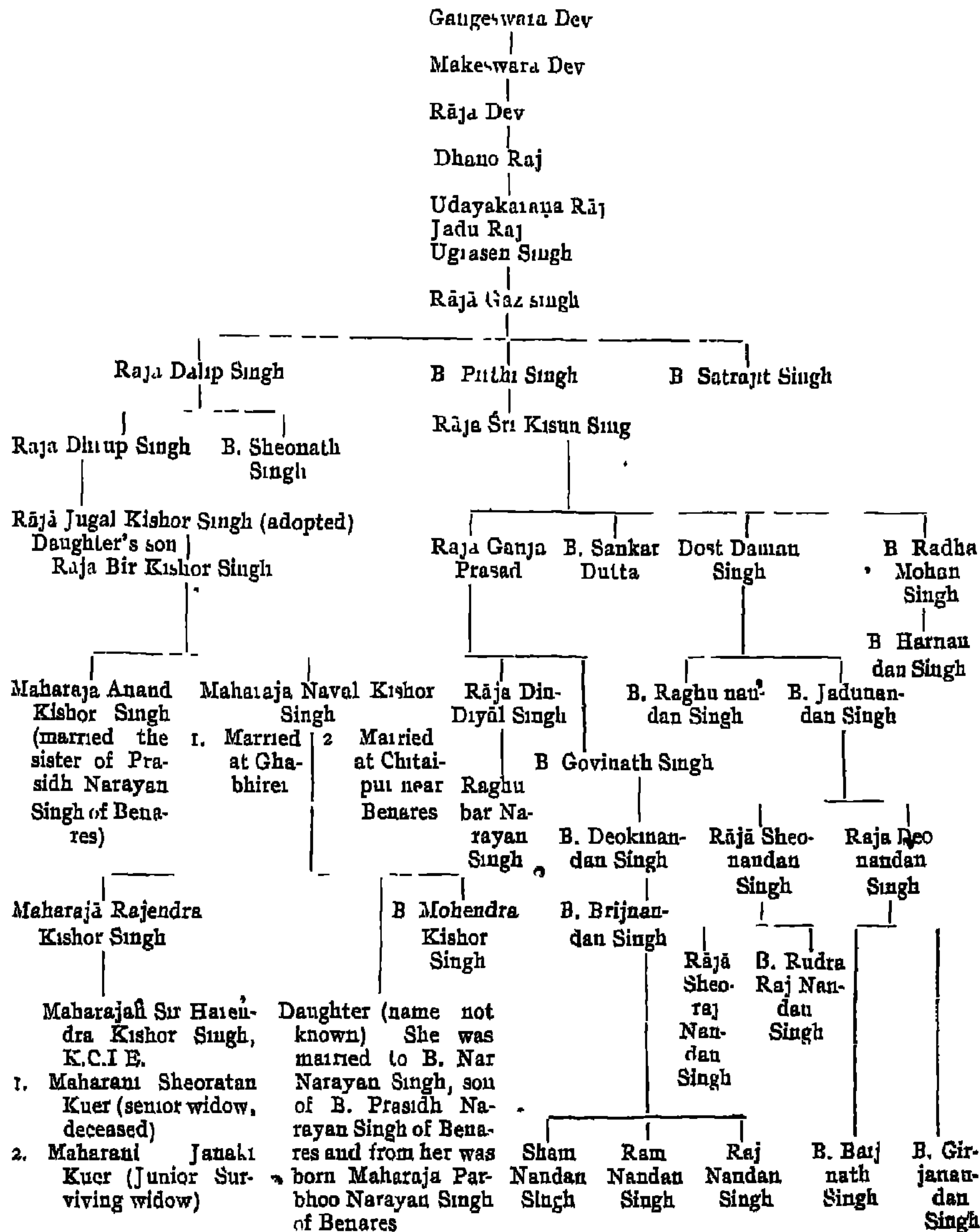
1 Rājā of Bettiah is mentioned prominently for giving protection to some rebellious Pathan families about the year 1750 during the viceroyalty of Ali Vardi Khan (Shair-ul-Mutakharim, Raymond's Translation, Vol. II, page 58, 1902 edition).

2 About the year 1760, a force commanded by Major Caillaud and Miran, the son of Mir Jaffar Khan, fell upon Bettiah and subdued it (Raymond's translation, Vol. II, 1902 edition, of Shair-ul-Mutakharim and Broom's History of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army).

3 The Shair-ul-Mutakharim also says that Mir Kasim sent a successful expedition against the Rājā of Bettiah in 1762.

reward for services rendered. On the death of his successor, Newal Keśwara Simha, in 1855, the estate passed to Rajendra Keśwara Siṁha, who in the words of the Lieutenant-Governor, gave at the time of the Mutiny "praiseworthy aid and support to Government during the whole progress of the rebellion." The title of Mahārāja Bahādur was also given to this Rājā and to his son, Harendra Keśwara Siṁha, the last Mahārājā of Bettiah, who was subsequently made a K.C.I.E. and died in 1893. He left no children and was succeeded by his Senior widow, who died in 1896. The estate which has been under the management of the Court of Wards, since 1897, is at present held by the Maharaja's junior widow.[1]

[1] Genealogical tree of the Bettiah family.



It will be interesting to note the terminal similarity between the names of some of the earlier members of the Kameśwara family and of those of the Bettiah family. Many of these names end in 'Iśwara'. Also it is remarkable that both these families are said to have come to Mithilā from Naimiṣaraṇya in the U.P. Vidyāpati has stated the Kameśwara family's connection with Naimiṣaraṇya in 'Bhuparikramana' and the Bettiah family still maintains the tradition. Both families are said to have started with their capital at Sugaon and it appears that the Bettiah family had at one time some connection with Simaraon as Raja Mahināthа Thakkura of Darbhanga is said to have fought with Raja Gaj Simha of Simaraon. Another common feature is that both the families adopted the surname of simha at an early period.

Bettiah has always been the headquarters of the Rājās or Mahārājās of Bettiah.[1]

[1] Father Tieffenthaler, the great Jesuit Missionary and author of Descriptio Indiae, one of the first Gazetteers of India, which was published in 1786, described it as "a populous city defended by a great castle surrounded by walls and fortified by towers; near it are the temple and convent, where dwell the missionaries of the Fransciscan order." The castle referred to by Tieffenthaler appears to have been erected by Dhurup Singh, Rājā of Bettiah, and remains of the fortifications are still traceable. The name Bettiah (properly Betia) is said to be derived from the fact that the place was once famous for its cane (*benī*) jungle. Even now cane of a superior quality is found on the banks of the Chandrawat and other streams.

APPENDIX F.

DARBHANGA RĀJA.

Derivation of the word "Darbhanga."

The name Darbhanga is said to be derived from "dar-i-bangal" or the door of Bengal, but this is probably etymologically impossible and is certainly meaningless, for the division between Bengal and Bihar has always lain much further east.[1]

Another derivation of the word Darbhanga which has been offered is that it is made up of the words "dāru" (wood) and "bhanga" (breaker) meaning a city on the spot after cutting the jungles or it may mean the shrine of a goddess built after cutting jungles.[2]

The "Ain-I-Akbari"[3] (Cir. 1590 A.D.) mentions Darbhanga as the name of a Mahal in Sircar Tirhut in King Akbar's time.

From published records[4] and from popular traditions prevalent in the country it appears that the family of the

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[1] Cf. Mr. Kerr's Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the Darbhanga District during the year 1896 to 1903.

[2] It appears that up to about 1530 A.D. Darbhanga District formed part of the great Hindu Kingdom of Mithilā, but soon after that date, it came, like other districts of Bihar, under the sway of the Muhammadan rulers and formed portion of Sirkar Tirhut which belonged to the Northern division of the then Suba or Province of Bihar.

The absence of any reference to the district in the early vedic literature and other records of the country, such as Buddhistic scriptures and the history of the Pal and Sena dynasties, renders it highly impossible to gather even scanty information with regard to it. The Bālamki's Ramāyana, however, contains a few references from which we are able to indentify some villages in Benipatti thana in the district. Chief among these villages or localities is Chiuta where it is believed, Ahilya, the wife of Gautama Ṛṣi, lived and where she was turned into stone by her husband's zealous curses, and restored to life by Rāma, the hero of the Ramāyaṇa and Lord of Ayodhyā. Thus whatever information concerning the district one can glean from such sacred books, it can unhesitatingly be admitted that it had been a vast jungle and an extensive uncultivated tract for a long period before the 12th or 13th century.

[3] Cf. p. 156, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol. II translated by Jarrett, Bibliotheca Indica, edition. Calcutta, 1910.

[4] A brief account of the origin and history of the Darbhanga Rāj will be found in the 2nd Part of the "Ghose's Indian Chiefs, Rājās, Zamindars, etc Mr. Kerr in his Settlement Report in the Darbhanga District (1896–1903), pages 1, 2 and 19 and Mr. Stevenson-Moore in his Settlement Report of the Muzaffarpur District (1892–1899), pages 44–49 have also dwelt at some length on the subject. Cf. also the Purneah Settlement Report (1901–1908) by Byrne, Calcutta edition, 1908, Appendix VI, pp. xlv–lii, which contains all relevant extracts from the Court of Wards papers relating to the Darbhanga Raj.

Mahārājās of Darbhanga is descended from one Maheśa Thakkura, a Brāhmaṇa who is said to have come from Mandala in the District of Jabbalpur in the Central Provinces about the beginning of the 16th century. Maheśa Thakkura was a man of great learning and erudition, and his vast knowledge of Sanskṛt, Science, and Art made the great Mughal Emperor Akbar confer upon him the grant of what is now the well-known Darbhanga Rāj.[1]

After receiving the grant of Mithilā from Emperor Akbar he settled down with his family at Bhaura in the Darbhangā District where he and his sons continued to teach Sanskṛta.

An account of the literary eminence of Maheśa Thakkura who, it is traditionally stated, was a student of Pakṣadhara Miśra and brother of Bhagiratha Thakkura, alias Megha Thakkura, has been given in its proper place. He was a Priest Minister of the Rājā of Bastar and his ancestor Gosain Saṅkarṣaṇa Upādhyāya had received the grant of Khāṇdava in the Central Provinces near Jabbalpur and from that date his descendants were called Thakkuras on account of their possession of landed property like so many other petty chiefs of Rājaputānā and Kathiawar. His family is, therefore, popularly known as the Khandawala or Khandwālakula family.

Maheśa Thakkura's capital was at Bhaura.[2]

Another version is that, one of his students Raghunandana by name, was very intelligent. According to a popular tradition preserved in the family, he was deputed by Maheśa Thakkura to explain some mythical stories to the Mahārāni of Bastar, but some how or other he incurred the Mahārāni's displeasure and was turned out of Bastar Estate. Just then Paṇḍita Maheśa Thakkura received a circular letter addressed to all famous Paṇḍits in

Cf. also Hunter's Statistical Account, 1877, Bengal, Tirhut and Champaran, pp. 208-214

Also cf Mithila Darpana by Ras Bihari Lal, Darbhanga, edition, 1915.

Also cf. Tarikhul-Fitrat known as Ain-i-Tirhut by Babu Bihari Lal, Vakil, Darbhanga, edition 1883.

[1] The traditional saying is that he got all the lands within the following boundaries, i e. "Az-gang-ta-Sang: Az Kos ta ghose" i e. from the Ganges to the mountains (i e. Nepal) and from Kosi (river Kosi) to the whole of Tirhut as popularly known. This couplet is also found in the Purneah Settlement Report (1901-08), Calcutta, edition 1908 by Byrne, App. VI, p xlvi.

[2] Bhaura is mentioned as mahal under Sircar Tirhut in Suba Bihar during the reign of King Akbar (cf. Ain-I-Akbari, Vol. II, page 156, Calcutta, 1910 edition).

the country by King Akbar requesting them to take part in his theological disputation at Delhi. Raghunandana proceeded to represent his teacher Maheśa Thakkura at the Delhi Court and by his vast learning and intellectual power beat down, among others, a very famous and learned Mullah of the Emperor's Court. Thereupon the celebrated King Akbar bestowed on the great Hindu scholar (Raghudanada Jhā), as a mark of the Imperial recognition of his high merits, the huge zamindari of Sircar Tirhut Raghunandana then returned to Tirhut and very disinterestedly made over the Farmān to his Guru, Maheśa Thakkura, in gratitude for the instructions he had received from him Maheśa Thakkura, however, declined to accept it unless it was endorsed in his favour by the Emperor himself. Accordingly Maheśa Thakkura accompanied by his pupil Raghunandana went to Delhi and got the grant transferred to his name after succeeding in a religious discussion with the Ullmas (learned Maulavis) of the Emperor's Court Rājā Māna Simha of Jayapur is traditionally said to be chiefly instrumental in effecting this transfer.[1]

And another story is that Maheśa Thakkura went to Delhi where he was introduced by Rājā Māna Sing[2] whom he impressed very well, to Akbar who was pleased with his versatile genius and learning.[3] Maheśa Thakkura told the Emperor that as the Kameśwara dynasty of Brāhmin rulers in Mithilā was extinct, he might be installed in authority. Akbar thereupon conferred the Mithilā Rāj on Maheśa Thakkura who returned to Mithilā and began to rule the country; but a scion of Kameśwara dynasty went to Delhi and implored the Emperor to restore the

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1 The following verse widely known in Tirhut gives the Śakā year of the grant of Farmān for Mithilā to Maheśa Thakkura.—

" नव यह वेद वसुंधरा; शक मे अकबर शाह।
पण्डित सुबुध महेश को, किन्हो मिथिला नाह॥

2 The following Śloka in praise of Rāja Mān Singh by Mahesa Thakkura is heard from Pandits in Mithila :—

उपवीणयन्ति दिवि गीतरसो नृप मानसिंह तव दान यशः। सुर शाखिमौलि कुसुम स्पृहया नमनाय भूरि यतमानतमा ॥ १ ॥

3 Cf. the following sloka sung by Mahesa Thakkura in praise of Akbar :—

"रुद्रा एकादशैका तुहिनगिरिसुता तामिममादधानाः प्रथामुत्सृज्यते श्री कलह मदरव कुर्वते दुर्विनीताः। अद्याप्युद्दामरागिजनविमलयशः पूरकर्पूर गौरैर्गङ्गा जलालुद्दीन त्वमिह दश दिग्भोवीर गौरी करोषि ॥ १ ॥

Mithilā Rāj to him and at last succeeded in getting the Emperor to settle with him the uncultivated lands in Mithilā on the assumption that Maheśa Thakkura had got his sway only over the cultivated lands. The Oinwar[1] came back to Mithilā and created trouble in almost every part of it for separation of the uncultivated from the cultivated lands. Maheśa Thakkura who was more a scholar than a ruler got disgusted with the whole thing and relinquished the Mithilā Rāj, and proceeded to "Bastar" to work as a priest Minister with the Rāja of Bastar. He was accompanied by a very intelligent student Raghunandana who happened to incur the displeasure of the Rāni of Bastar and who decided after consulting Maheśa Thakkura to proceed to Delhi where he would join in theological disputation in the Emperor's Court and also try to get back the undivided possession of Mithilā to Maheśa Thakkura whose devoted disciple he was. He[2] succeeded and returned to Bastar, accompanied by Imperial escorts, to surprise the Rani[3] and to be welcomed by Maheśa Thakkura. Maheśa Thakkura eventually returned to Tirhut, took possession of the Mithilā Rāj and made amicable settlement with the descendants of the Oinwar family.

And yet another tradition states that the founder of this family was a Srotriya Brāhmaṇa, Gaṅgadhara Jhā, who lived in the 11th century A.D. in the village Gangawali in the Darbhanga District. It is said that his great-grandson, Śaṅkarṣana, acquired fame as a great Paṇḍita in Khandwa in the Central Provinces and came to be regarded as a 'Swāmi' (spiritual leader). He acquired the village Khandwa in the Central Provinces and came to be called a Thakkura like the princes of Kathiawar. It is believed that Candra Thakkura, who was seventh in descent from Śankarṣana Thakkura had four learned sons

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[1] i e. descendant of Kameswar who was called Oinwar.

[2] It is not known what became of Raghunandan after his return to Bastar but it is believed traditionally that his family settled partly in the Central Provinces and partly in Mithilā.

[3] The following sloka expressive of the Rāni's surprise and humiliation is heard from Mithilā Panditas :—

प्रातर्भास्वति पद्मिनी परिदृढ़े विम्बक तमः शंकया दिक् चक्र चकितं सुधैव चतुरे चक्रि लघुद्वीचसे । श्रीमद्दस्तार भूमचेन्द्र वद्नाभोज प्रसादोद्यादायाते रघुनन्दने गज घटा घण्टारव श्रूयते ॥ १ ॥

named Megha, Thegha, Dāmodara and Maheśa Thakkuras, who established a Sanskrit School at Bhaura (in the Darbhanga District) and used to teach students from all parts of the country including Bengal. They started on travel with Maheśa Thakkura's learned pupil Raghunandana and came to be honoured by the Chiefs of Khandawa, Mandala, Ratnapura and Bastara in the Central Provinces. Their name is intimately associated with Rānī Durgāvati of Maṇḍalā (or Gorha) whom one of them initiated into the sacred lore and under whose advice she (though Gauḍakṣatrī by caste) was married to one Jadorāo (a Nāgabanśikṣatrī) who subsequently became disciple of one of the brothers. Tradition says that Rānīdurgavatī incurred their displeasure by her disparaging remarks about their favourite pupil Raghunandana and consequently they left her place. Tradition is also responsible for the statement that they returned ro Rānīduragavatī with a large number of elephants presented by the Rājā of Bastara and Rānīdurgavatī[1] came out of her palace to receive and honour them, especially as she felt humbled on account of her having taunted them (when they were leaving her) saying how many elephants would they bring from elsewhere. The brothers are said to have been invited to Akbar's court at Delhi, where they distinguished themselves in disputation. Akbar presented them with the sanad granting the principality of Mithilā which was their native land.

Tradition states that Maheśa Thakkura and his brothers were reluctant to accept the grant from a Non-Hindu king but Maheśa's pupil Raghunandana took up the sanad and subsequently presented it to him as *Gurudakṣiṇā* (present to a teacher or preceptor). But Mehga, Thegha and Dāmodara Thakkuras are said to have repaired to Bastar, Mandalā and Ratnapura in the Central Provinces where they were granted large jagirs and annuities and Maheśa Thakkura alone settled down in Tirhut and got possession of the country after some fight with the former ruler (traditionally called Darbhangi Khan).

[1] Ferishta (translated by Briggs) describes Rānī Durgavatī of Garha's fight with Akbar's general in the course of which she lost her life Cf Heristha's History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India, translated by Briggs, Vol II, pp 217 and 218

He is said to have brought the image of deity Karkali from near Jabbalpur and to have established it at Darbhanga.

Thus it is believed generally that Maheśa Thakkura got his Rāja from Akbar and it is said that an old inscription confirms this belief and assigns the event to 1556 A.D.[1]

According to tradition Maheśa Thakkura died in 1569 A.D. leaving behind him four sons, the eldest Rāma Candra Thakkura having died unmarried in his father's life time. On the death of Maheśa Thakkura his second son, Gopāla Thakkura succeeded him as eldest surviving son 1569–1581. The most important event traditionally known of Gopāla Thakkura's time was his conquest of the Pemmara Rajaputas of Bhaur which they eventually evacuated.[2] Another important event of Gopāla Thakkura's time was the settlement of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa by Rājā Todar Mall in or about the year 1580.[3] Gopāla Thakkura soon retired to Benares and was succeeded by his brother, Paramānanda Thakkura, the fourth son of Maheśa Thakkura. Shortly after Paramananda Thakkura also died without issue and was succeeded by his younger brother Śubhaṅkara Thakkura, the fifth and last son of Maheśa Thakkura. In his time the seat of the family was changed from Bhavr to Bhawarāh near Madhubani. He is

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1 It is said that there is the following inscription on a piece of stone in the Dhanuṣakūpa (well) near Janakapura in the Nepal territory. Cf introduction to Vacaspati Miśra's Khaṇḍanoddhāra, Benares edition (Medical Hall Press), 1906:—

"आसीत् पण्डितमण्डलाग्रगणिता भूमण्डला खण्डला।
जातः खण्डवलाकुले गिरिसुताभक्तो महेशः कृती॥
शाके रन्ध्रतुरङ्ग मनुति मही। १४८८ सलक्षित श्रावणे।
वाग्देवी कृपया प्रभु येन मिथिला देशः समस्तोर्जितः"॥

2
रहे भौर क्षत्री प्रबल, बसत भौर निज ठौर।
सूर समर विजयी बड़े, सब क्षत्री सिर मौर॥
अच्यूत मेघ गोपाल मिलि, मारौ क्षत्री राज।
निज कुल लै भागी तबै, रानी नैहर राज॥
बहुत दिवसके बाद सो, सजि आये पम्मार।
युद्ध करन मिथिलेश सो, सेना अपरम्पार॥

This and others mentioned hereafter are old couplets heard in Tirhut the author of which is not known.

3 Cf page 352 of Ain-I-Akbari by Abul Fazl Allami translated by H. Blochmann, Vol: I Calcutta 1873 edition and also page 50 of Riyazu-S-Salatin M. Abdus Salam, Calcutta, 1902 edition.

traditionally known as step brother of Gopāla Thakkura. Tradition calls him very chivalrous and brave[1] He is said to have founded the town of Subhankapur near Darbhanga.

After Subhañkara Thakkura came Puruṣottama Thakkura, his eldest son (1617–1641).

Tradition, in shape of well-known Pammar (ballad) sung in Tirhut says that Purusottama Thakkura was invited by the Imperial Revenue Collector who came round to collect tribute, at Killaghat in Darbhanga, and then treacherously murdered. His body was burnt according to Hindu rites, and then his widow went to Delhi and made complaint to His Majesty the Emperor Jahangir, and as result thereof, the Governor, who murdered her husband, was condemned to death. She ascended the funeral pyre with her husband's *sandals* at the bank of the Jamunā at Nigambodha ghat at Delhi and thus became *sati*. It is also traditionally stated that Puruṣottama Thakkura's step brother Nārāyaṇa Thakkura succeeded him but this statement is not borne out by literature.

Sundara Thakkura, the seventh son of Subhañkara Thakkura, succeeded Puruṣottama Thakkura (1641-1668) He is traditionally known to have been very handsome[3]

Sundara Thakkura was succeeded by his eldest son Mahinātha Thakkura (1668–1690) He is traditionally said to have engaged in a fight with Rājā Gaja Siṁha of Simraon[4] and is said to have put down the inhabitants of

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1 कलयति कर करवाल कराल मुपैति विभूषण सरि मखिलासाः ।
कथयति भवति भवति भवभूति रभूति रसौवच सोऽपि कलायाः ॥
वितरति वसुवसुधा सुर सद्मनि लसति कलासकला कमलायाः ।
त्वयि शुभमस्तु शुभङ्कर ठक्कुर भवति विभूषणसिंह मिथिलायाः ॥

2 Cf. Genealogical table attached to case Mahārāja Kumāra Basudeva Siṁha, Appellant, versus Mahārāja Rudra Siṁha Bahadur, Respondent, on page 271 of the Report of Cases determined in the Court of Sudder Dewanny Adawlut, Vol. VII, containing the reports from 1841 to 1848, Printed at Bhawanipur by Sri Natha Banarjee and Brothers Book-sellers and Publishers, 1875 edition.

3 अरविन्द विनन्दित सुन्दर लोचन सुन्दर ठक्कुर सुन्दरता ।
मदनेन समिं विधिना तुलिना कलिता मिथिलैक पुरन्दरता ।
नव खण्ड बला कुल मण्डन भूप सदामतिरस्तु मुकुन्दरता ।
बैने नगरे निजे कमला पर वारिधि मन्थन मन्दरता ॥

4 धाय मिथिला के महिनाथसिंह महाराज बाज के झपट वे सुगाओं पर चढ़ि गयो ॥ १ ॥
घेरा करि दौड़ि दरवाजे में दरेरा लगौ घबलागै मुभौ त्यौं आगे आगसौ झहरि गयौ ॥ २ ॥

Moranga north-east of Purnea. Mahināth Thakkura is said to have been a good patron of Maithili literature and is said to have encouraged Lochan Kavi who wrote Rāj Tarangini which describes the social conditions of the time and also Naisadha Kāvya, copies of which exist in the Darbhanga Raj Library.

This Simraon may have been a seat of the Rājā of Bettiah.[1]

Mahinātha Thakkura was succeeded by his brother Narapati Thakkura (1690–1700). Narapati Thakkura died in 1700 and was succeeded by his eldest son. Rāghava Siṁha who remained in possession of the Rāj till 1739 and was the first Rājā of the line who adopted the surname of Siṁha instead of Thakkura. He is said to have engaged in a sanguinary battle with Rājā Dhruba Siṁha of Bettiah.[2] His wife is traditionally known to have burnt herself on her husband's funeral pyre.

About 1720 A.D. Ali Vardi Khan, the then Deputy Governor of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, conferred the title of Rājā on Rāghava Siṁha. Rāghava Siṁha is said to have acquired the mukarrari lease of Sirkar Tirhut at one lakh of rupees annually, as fresh settlement of the old grant. He also paid an annual nazrānā (salāmi) of 50.000 rupees to Rājā Dharanidhara, the Nawab's Dewan and remained in quiet possession and enjoyment of that Sirkar till, at the instigation of Ekanātha Thakkura, nephew of Rājā Rāghava Siṁha and great-grand-son of Subhañkara Thakkura (by his second son Nārāyaṇa Thakkura who died in his father's life time), and hearing from him of all the Rājā's (Rāghava Simha's) enormous profits,

दौड़ दौड़ पैदल कगुरन में चढ़ि लागै लेझकौ लपरिसो सोनित ताल भरि गयौ ॥ ३ ॥
कछ दाल कछ नरकस तलवार डारितौलौ गजसिंह खोलि खिड़की दै निकलि गयौ ॥ ४ ॥

[1] For an account of Simraon dynasty Cf. Part III and for that of Bettiah Appendix E.

[2]
नगड़ खड़ भुवसिंह तोहि ऊपर यम चढ़ौ ।
मिथिलापति सोवैर खवस दिन दिन तोहि बढ़ौ ॥
ते कपूत कुल वधिक रतो राघव नृप राजा ।
अरि दल दलन सम्मथ भीम भारत जिमि गाजा ॥
कवि कहत रामरे मूढ़ सुनु जेहि दल प्रचण्ड भैरो रहत ।
उहरै ने फौज जायदृति कौ जब सरदार खां तेगा गहत ॥

It is said that Sardar Khan was a servant of Rājā Raghava Simha.

Ali Vardi Khan seized his property amountaing to ten or twelve lakhs and carried all his family as prisoners to Patna. The Rājā at first fled, but at last surrendered himself and was ordered back to Tirhut as a Revenue Collector and a grant of sadui[1] (2 per cent on the collections) was given to him on condition that he should do justice and relieve distress; that he should put the country in a flourishing state and keep it so; that he should supply the raiyats with the necessaries for cultivation, and be equally answerable to Government for the revenue collected through his dependents as for those immediately under his own superintendence.[2]

Tradition says that Rājā Rāghava Simha fought a battle with a Rājā called Bhūpa Simha, who was residing in Pargana Pachmahala in Nepal Tarai. Nepal had many petty chieftains in those days. Bhūpa Simha was killed in the battle.

But the most important event of Rājā Rāghava Simha's time as traditionally known and as preserved in the poems of Lāl Kavi (and heard in Tirhut) was his fight with the usurper Biru Kurmi who was previously his servant (Khansāmā)[3] Rāghava Simha appointed him revenue collector of Mahāl Dharamapur (in the Purnea District) which was granted to Rājā Rāghava Simha.[4] After

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[1] An explanation of the word "Sadui" mentioned above seems necessary in this place. The word is derived from *sad* or sat (hundred) and *dui* (two) and means two per cent.

According to some, *sadui* is the same as *dasturant* or collection charges—Cf. pages 44–45 of Stevenson Moore's Settlement Report of the Muzaffarpur District (1892–1899) Calcutta, 1801 edition.

[2] Cf. page 44 of Mr Stevenson-Moore's Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the Muzaffarpur District (1892-1899), 1901 edition.

[3] बीर नगर बीरसाव का बसे कौशिका तीर ।
का पति राखे कौशिका का राखे रघुबीर ॥

[4] The present Mahārāja of Darbhanga, Sir Rameśwara Simha has got a sanad of Dharampur granted to Rāja Mādhava Simha but there is a well known tradition prevalent through out the district that the original grantee was Rājā Rāghava Simha.

I have come across some private documents or sanads granted by owners of the Darbhanga Raj to their successors beginning with Mahinath Thakkura down to Partap Singh, purporting to show that the Raj of Tirhut, Pargana Dharampur, and all the Malikana Dustuii belonged to Darbhanga Raj

But this account is in conflict with the deposition of Durajan Simha, son of Bira Simha, the Rājā of Biranagara alias Dharamapur by Nawab Zafar Khan during the time of Emperor AURANZEB (cf. page 36 of Riyazu-s salatin by M. Abdus Salam, Calcutta, 1902 edition).

The account of Dharampur Parganā given in the Gazetteer of Purnea, 1911, page 186, by L. S.S o. Malley, is interesting:—

On the death of Rājā Narendra Siṁha in 1770, though his widow Rāni Padmāwati retained some sort of influence till 1778, the Rāj in fact devolved upon Pratāpa Siṁha, the adopted son of Rājā Narendra Siṁha and eldest son of Eknātha Thākkura, cousin of Rājā Narendra Siṁha. Rājā Pratāpa Siṁha removed his family residence from Bhawarah near Madhubani to Jhañjhārpur about the year 1782.[1]

Pratāpā Siṁha died in 1785 and was succeeded by his step-brother and heir Mādhava (alias Mādho) Siṁha.[2] He removed his residence to Darbhanga. It was during the time of Mādhava Siṁha that steps for a permanent settlement of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were taken by Lord Cornwallis about the year 1790. Rājā Mādhava

डका दै बखशी चलौ चढ़े खेत पर जाय ॥
मचाया पेच खेलाय के काळ देखायौ वाळ ।
चढ़ी सवारी पार कैं गंग दुआर के घाळ ॥
सबै फिरै मैदान छाड़ि फौजदार भागि गौ ।
भयौ फतेह भूप का सुकत बम्ब बाजि गौ ॥
लूटि लूटि लायौ सवति त्रिपुर लपेटे पाग ।
लाल सुकवि एहि भांति भौ समर भिखारी भंग ॥

1 The circumstances under which the transfer took place is described in some old poems :—

दोहा :— न्हत्यत फणिन फणाणि पर खञ्जन पांखि पसारि ।
सोलखि सब पूछत भये अद्भुत बात निहारि ॥ १ ॥
पूछत भय नरेश तब सुनु मोति सब लोग ।
खञ्जन फणि पर शोभहिं याको कौन संयोग ॥ २ ॥

कवित्त :— कहत लगे हैं तब मंत्रि प्रबल लोग सुनिय मिथिलेश जो योतिष में प्रमाण हैं ॥ १ ॥ सरस हैं भूमि याको जीति न सकत कोउ वास करिबे के यह विधि के निशानि है ॥ २ ॥ सुनि के आनन्द उर उमगे उछाह बढ़ि बोले महराज ने सरस भरे बाणि है ॥ ३ ॥ हुकुम हमारो यह जाहिर जहांन करो भौरा को छाड़ि यहां दरभङ्गा राजधानी हैं ॥ ४ ॥

दोहा :— राजधानी दरभङ्गा भय सकल गुणन खानि ।
भौरा छाड़ि भूप तब सम्मत सब के आनि ॥ १ ॥

2 Mādhava Simha had four wives: by the first he had no issue, by the second he had two sons, Kisuna Siṁha who had died without issue in his father's lifetime, and Chattra Simha, by the third he had also two sons, Kirata Simha and Govinda Simha, and by the fourth only one son named Rāmapata Siṁha.

It appears that the Emperor Shah Alam of Delhi addressed Madhu Simha as a Rājā in a Farmān and it may be assumed that the title of Rājā or Mahārājī has become heriditary by prescription-Ghose's Indian chiefs, Rājās, Zamindars, etc., Part II, 1881 edition.

Siṁha declined to accept the terms proposed by the collector and the Board on the ground that due allowance was not made for his "malikānā" and "dasturant." He claimed either "Malikana" or "dasturant" all over Sirkar Tirhut. Now malikana means allowance to a dispossessed proprietor, i.e. one whose estate has been settled or farmed with some body else, and dasturant means an allowance due to a dispossessed mukarraridar. Rājā Mādhava Siṁha claimed that the Rājship of the whole of Tirhut was conferred upon his ancestors by the Delhi Emperors along with the Sadui, i e. 2 per cent of the revenue collected by him. Rājā Mādhava Siṁha apparently claimed that though he was not in actual possession of the whole of Tirhut, still there was a time when every part of Tirhut was either his absolute property or his mukarrari and so he was entitled either to malikana or dasturant. The component articles of dasturant as claimed by Rājā Mādhava Siṁha were three rupees upon each village yielding Rs. 100/—aud upwards, one anna in every rupee of the revenue and two rupees per cent on the mufassal jamā, all of which were conditional (Bashartea Malguzari and Khair Khah Sirkar on account of revenue and loyalty to Government). The Rājā had besides the Nizamat dasturant a fixed dasturant from all lands not paying rent to Government amounting to Rs. 15,000/—or 16,000/—. The collector did not acknowledge his claim and settled the estates in fairness with others on account of the Rājā's recusancy but eventually in the year 1807 under the orders of the Government of India the settlement of the present Darbhanga Rāja was concluded with Rāja Mādhava Siṁha on an annual rental of Rs. 152,053/-, excluding Rs. 41,282/- on account of his malikana and dasturant.[1]

Rājā Mādhava Siṃha died in 1807 and was succeeded by his eldest surviving son. Rājā Chattra Siṃha, who rendered good services to Government at the time of the Nepal war in 1814–15 A.D. He was the first to receive

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1 Page 19 of Kerr's Settlement Report of the Darbhanga District (1896–1903), Calcutta, 1904 edition.

For a comprehensive account of settlement with Madhavā Simha and his dasturant which showed his right of some sort over whole Tirhut cf. pages 446,480–82 500 etc. of Fifth Report on East India Affairs, Vol: II by Firminger, Calcutta, 1917 edition.

a few years Biru declared himself independent and ceased to remit collections to him. Thereupon Rājā Rāghava Siṁha had to send a large force to Purnea to subdue him. He was subdued after the fight and the tradition has it that the Darbhanga family does not employ Kurmis as servants on account of Biru, a Kurmi having turned disloyal to his master Rāghava Siṁha.

Rāghava Siṁha died in 1739 A.D. and was succeeded by his eldest son Rājā Viṣṇu Siṁha (1739–1743). On the latter's death in 1743, his brother Narendra Siṁha (2nd son of Rājā Rāghava Simha) ascended the *gaddi.* It was during his time that Tirhut was subjected for a third time in 1750 to the revision of assessment by Ali Vardi Khan.[1] The most important event of his time was that Ali Vardi Khan's forces came heavily upon this Rājā on account of his habitual delay in payment of tribute and harrassed him.[2]

Tradition states that he was helped in this contest with Ali Vardi Khan, Nawab of Bengal, by the Narhan

"A parganā in the west of the district with an area of about 964 square miles. It is the property of the Maharaja of Darbhangā, and is said to have been acquired by his ancestor Maheś Thakkura in the following manner. Mahes Thakkura was priest of the Rajas of Tirhut, and, when they were conquered by the Emperor of Delhi, sent his pupil Raghunandan Thakkur to—Akbar's court. He gained Akbar's favour by his skill in por-mies and a lucky prophecy He foretold a storm in which a tree, under which Akbar'e tent was pitched, would be destroyed. The tent was removed, and some hours afterwards the tree was rent by lightning. Akbar there upon conferred upon Raghunandan the whole of Tirhut, or at least an income of two per cent of its revenues, which at his request, was transferred to his master, Mahesa Thakkura."

It may be noted here incidentally that the Statement that Maheśa Thakkura was a priest of the Rājās of Tirhut, is not supported by any local traditions prevalent in Tirhut, all of which call him a priest of the Rājā of Bastar in the C.P.

[1] Cf Siyar-ul-Mutakharin, Vol: II

[2] Being aided by the Afghans, Ali Vardi advanced with his forces against the tracts of the Rājāhs of Bettiah and Bhawarāh, who were refractory and turbulent. Their regions had never previously been trod by the feet of the armies of former Nazims, nor had their proud heads ever bended before to any of the former Subahdars Indeed, they had never before paid the imperial revenues and taxes. After fighting with them incessantly, Ali Vardi Khan became victorious and triumphant. Raiding and pillaging their tracts, Ali Vardi Khan carried off a large booty amounting to several *laks* in specie and other effects, and settling with the Rajahs the amounts of tribute, presents and the imperial revenue, he raised an immense sum. The soldiers also were enriched by the booty, and the strength of Ali Vardi's administration increased (Cf. page 296 of Riyazu-s-salāting by M. Abdus Salam, Calcutta, 1902 edition).

Bhaurah or Bhawarah is mentioned as the name of a Mahal in Sirkar Tirhut in the Ain-i-Akbari (Cir. 1590) Cf. p 156 cf the Ain-i-Akbari, Vol: II, translated by Jarrett, Bibliotheca Indica edition, Calcutta, 1910.

The remains of an old fort and tank built by Rāghava Siṁha are still pointed out at Bhowarah—pp. 55 and 210, Hunter's statistical account of Bengal, 1877, Tirhut and Champaran.

family.[1] Tradition is also responsible for the statement that Narendra Siṁha also helped the Subedar of Bengal and Bihar against Mustafa Khan, an Afgan leader, who had rebelled against him.

The poet Lāl Kavi of Magrauni in the district of Darbhanga in his poem has described the battle of Kandarpi ghāt fought by Rājā Narendra Siṁha against the the forces, 5000 in number, sent by Rājā Rāmanārāyaṇa, Subedār of Patna, headed by Bhikhāri Mahthā, who was accompanied by Salabat Rai at a place called Kandarpi ghat on Balam river in the district of Darbhanga. This force was sent to take *khas* possession of Tirhut from Rājā Narendra Siṁha but the latter was victorious, as the force with its commander was routed.[2]

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[1] ऐसे महा जोर घोर जंग सुलतानी बीच भुकत बबर जग संगर करिन्द्र हैं। औलिया नव्वाब नाम द्वार पूछै बार बार ए होउ कौन लहत करि वारण परिन्द्र हैं॥ साहेब सुजान जैनुद्दीन अहमद खाँ आगे ही अरज करत कविचन्द हैं। एतो दौलवार कैधौ साह को अजीत शाह आगे राघव सिंह के नवल नरिन्द्र हैं॥ किलकिलें जोगीनी बैताल करताल दै दै गहत करवाल कर कालिका सकाति हैं। भभकि भभकि उठें लहर लोह लोयन की लहरि लहरि वैरि वधु जहर खोजि खाती हैं॥ एकै आये पांव रोप्यो राघव महीप स्तधीर कवि बाढ़ौ . रोष जाको रंग राती हैं॥ गाजि राम शेर खां को कैसो फौज भागी जैसे नाह को निरखिकें नवोढ़ा फिर जाती है॥

[2] The following are the widely sung bãllads relating to this fight.

रामनरायण भूप ते कह्यो मुसाहिफ जाय।
हाकिम को मिथिलेश ने दिन्हो अदल उठाय॥
सीर करो तिरहुत को ताके रचो उपाय।
फौजदार महथा भये संग सलाब तराय॥
वखत सिंह कुल उदरन रोहमल्ल दिलपूर।
चौभान भानु भानू सुकुल एक एक ते सूर॥
याही सभ तैनाथ करि फौजे पांच हजार।
दिगपाल सन्मुख योगिनी महथा उतरे पार॥
सभैं पैटि वान्हयो कम्मर जड़ावा, पूछे राह में दूर केते भवाड़ा॥
खबरदार ने खबर करि नृप से कहेउ बुझाय।
पांच हजार सवार लै महथा पहुंचे आय॥
किलाहुं ते कूंच करि कर में गह्यो कमान।
महाराज डेरा दियो हरिना के मैदान॥
रामपटी ते कूच करि पड़ौ अचानक जाय।
तव डंका भूपति सुन्यो ताजिम पहुंचे आय॥
जाफर खां के दूलै हाला राय।

the title of Mahārājā from Lord Moiro (Marquess of Hastings)[1], which has since been granted by Government as a personal distinction to each successive proprietor of the estate and has been conferred on the present Māhārājā Sir Rameśwara Simha as a hereditary title

In the month of may 1811 while Māhārājā Chattra Siṁha was the proprietor of the estate, Kirata Siṁha, his brother (3rd son of Rajā Mādhava Siṁha) set up a claim and instituted a suit against him in the Patna Provincial Court of Tirhut to recover from him a third part of the ancestral property. On June 22, 1814, the claim of Kirata Siṁha was dismissed. Then he appealed to the Sadar Dewany Adālat, but before the case was tried, Kirata entered into a compromise with his brother and withdrew the appeal on the ground of invalidity of his claim. Thus ended the first attempt of one of the members of the Rāja family to break the impartible character of this ancient Rāj.[2]

Mahārāja Chattra Simha died on the 3rd of April, 1839, leaving two sons Rudra Simha and Bāśudeva Siṁha. A few days before his death, the Maharaja in pursuance of the family usage executed a deed of gift by which he assigned the Rāj to his eldest son, Rudra Simha, the younger son Baśudeva Simha receiving a few villages for his maintenance and support as Bābu. When Rudra Siṁha took possession of the Rāj, Bāsudeva Siṁha claimed a moiety of it alleging that the disposition of the property ought not to be regulated by the *kulāchāra* or family custom, but by the Hindu Law. He accordingly

1 Marquess of Hastings writes. "After a durbar which I held at Calcutta, a rajah said to the public secretary. 'This man knows what to say to us. You ought always to have a great sirdar at the head of the Government,—was of the weaver caste, and he could not flatter us with any thing he said! I this day (the 13th August, 1814) bestowed Khilants on the Maharajah Mitra Jeet Singh and the Maharajah of Tirhut The latter is of the older family, but I gave a precedence to the other on account of his personal character. I desired him to understand that my investing him with the dress of honour was not merely for his attachment to the British Government, but proceeded from my knowledge that he had made all the ryots under him comfortable and happy, a tenor of conduct which I wish to distinguish by that public applause. After the durwar, a dwarf was produced. He was seventeen years of age; about the ordinary height of a child five years old, but of lighter make. His head was small, and his countenance good There was nothin of that want of proportion which usually characterises dwarfs——The Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings, 1907 edition Maharaja Mitra Jeet Singh aforesaid was the Maharaja of Tikari in Magadh Maharaja Maheshwara Simha is also said to have been addressed as Maharaja of Tirhut at the time of the conferment of his Khilat in 1891.

2 Moore's Indian Appeal, Vol VI, page 168.

brought a suit in the Court of the sessions Judge of Patna against Maharaja Rudra Siṁha on 22nd September, 1840, in which the estimated value of the property in suit both real and personal was stated to be Rs. 24, 46, 658-1-13-2½ (company's rupees). In 1839 Ganeśa datta Siṁha, son of Govinda Siṁha, fourth son of Rājā Madhava Siṁha and brother of Mahārāja Chattra Siṁha, had also instituted a suit against his uncle Kirata Siṁha and cousins, Mahārāja Rudra Siṁha and Bāśudeva Siṁha. In the former the Sessions Judge held that Rudra Siṁha was entitled to the Rāj and that Bāśudeva Siṁha was only entitled to maintenance on the ground that the succession to the family property is regulated by the family custom; that the eldest son succeeds to the Rāj, the younger sons obtaining sufficient landed property for their maintenance; and that the Rāj pays the Government revenue direct for them and they re-imburse it, the lands being assigned on condition that failing male issue, they revert to the Rāj. The latter was also decided by the same Judge and dismissed on the same grounds. There was an appeal in both suits, first to the Sadar Court and then to the Privi Council; but the decision of the Lower Court was upheld in both the Courts. Their Lordships of the Privy Council held that in conformity with the long established usage of the family the title and estate had uniformly devolved entire for many generations and hence it was impartible. This decision which has settled once for all that the estate is impartible and that inheritance to it is regulated by primogeniture, has been instrumental in preserving the estate in its integrity and in making its proprietor the greatest land owner in Bihar.[1]

Maharaja Rudra Siṁha died in 1850 and was succeeded by his eldest son Maharaja Maheswara Siṁha who held the estate till 1860.

Mahārāja Maheśwara Siṁha died in October, 1860, leaving two infant sons, the eldest being Lakṣmeśwara Siṁha. Mahārāja Lakṣmiśwara Siṁha was born on the 25th September, 1858, and was the 17th in descent from Mahesa Thakkura, the progenitor of this ancient Rājā family. The Mahārāja himself and his extensive

[1] Cf. O' Malley's District Gazetteer of Darbhanga 1907 edition, pages 144-145.

estates were at once placed under the charge of the Court of Ward which, during nearly 19 years, directed the education of the young chief, and most satisfactorily managed his extensive estate Mahārāja Lakṣmiśwara Siṁha was first sent to the Ward's Institute at Benares and placed under the tution of Mr. Chester Macnaghten, but he was eventually brought back to Darbhanga where he was under the tutorship of Mr. Alexander. The valuable results of the system of education followed with regard to the young Mahārāja Lakṣmiśwara Siṁha, are strongly testified to by the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Steuart Bayley, who, as the head of the Court of Wards in Behar had ample opportunities of forming an opinion, which, in the course of his address at the Mahārāja's installation Darbar at Bankipore in 1830, he expressed in most encouraging terms..[1]

The immediate effect of the litigation referred to above, combined with mismanagement, was to involve the estate in serious difficulties; so that when Mahārāja Maheśwara Siṁha died in 1860 and the Court of Wards took charge of it for his minor son, it was 70 lakhs. in debt and the revenue was only 19 lakhs. Under the management of the court of Wards, the finances of the estate recovered, and 20 years later, when it was made over to the late Mahārāja Lakṣmeśwara Siṁha it was in a flourishing condition.[2]

Mahārāja Lakṣmiśwara Siṁha occupied the foremost place in the public life of Bengal and Bihar. and was several times elected as a Member to the Imperial Council. He served as a Member of the Royal Opium Commission and was successively made a K.C.I.E.. G.C.I.E. He was a President of the British India Association of Calcutta. He was the founder-President of the Bihar Landholders' Association and is still remembered for his manifold acts

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1 The occasion of my asking you to meet me here to-day is one which has a special interest for me I have, for many years, had the pleasure of knowing the young Maharaja of Darbhanga, and, at one time there was not a day in which his affairs did not occupy some portion of my time and of my thoughts I have watched his education from boyhood, and his development into a man, whose abilities, manners, accomplishments and personal character eminently fit him for the high position he has to fill—and to whose future I may look forward as well calculated to reflect credit on the Court of Wards and on those gentlemen to whom his education has been entrusted." Part II of Ghose's Indian Chiefs, Rajas, Zamindars Etc, 1881 edition.

2 Pages 144-45 of O'Malley's District Gazetteer of Darbhanga, 1907 edition.

of munificence. He died in the year 1898 and was succeeded by his brother the present Mahārāja Sir Rāmeśwara Siṁha.

The present Mahārājā has had a liberal education and a chequered career. He became a member of the Statutory Civil Service at an early age.

He was for some time Assistant Magistrate and Collector of Darbhanga and Saran and Joint Magistrate at Bhagalpur and a member of the Bengal Legislative Council. He was decorated with the title Raja Bahadur before he succeeded to the Darbhanga Raj. He takes keen interest in matters of public utility and was elected several times as a member of the Imperial Council by the non official members of the Bengal Council and twice as a President of the British Indian Association. He is also President of several Associations, Sabhas and Societies including the "all India Landholders' Association" and is the hereditary head of the entire Māithila Community in North Bihar. All intricate and disputed questions appertaining to the social and religious life of the Maithila Community go to him for decision and ruling which are final, and the power of excommunication from the community rests with him. This leadership in the case of the Maharajas of Darbhanga is recognised for the last 300 years. He is the life President of the Bharata Dharma Mahāmaṇdala, the All-India Religious Association of Hindus with which the leading Hindu Ruling Chiefs are also concerned. His relation with the leaders of the Muhammadan and other communities in India is such as to show that he enjoys the confidence and esteem of not only the Hindus by whom he is held in high respect throughout India but also of the Muhammadans and others. He worked as a member of the Police Commission in 1905 and distinguished himself by his zeal for the Hindu University by his extensive tours to collect donations from Indian Princes and others and by his own donation of rupees five lacs. He has worked for a full term of 5 years as a Member of the Bihar and Orissa Executive Council and has won the esteem of all concerned official and non-official. He has been decorated with K.C.I.E., K.B.E., by Government surely in recognition of his services. He was honoured with the hereditary title of

"Maharajadhiraj," and while conferring the title, Sir Edward Gait at his Patna Durbar in December, 1920, stated that the Maharaja was descended from ancestors possessed of absolute powers.

It may not be out of place to discuss the nature of the grant made by Emperor Akbar to Mahesa Thakkura, the founder of the Darbhanga Raj. The question has been often asked whether Mahesa Thakkura was appointed merely a revenue Collector of Tirhut on a certain commission or whether he was granted entire control over the internal adminstration of Tirhut, subject, of course, to the payment of the Imperial revenue to the Emperor. I have already mentioned the traditional saying "as gang ta sang, as kosh ta ghosh" which means that Mahesa Thakkura got the grant of the whole country comprised within the boundaries from the Ganges on the South to the mountain on the North and from the Kosi on the East to the Gandak on the West. But it is quite possible when Sircar Tirhut was given to Mahesa Thakkura, other zamindars existed with a few villages given by grant either by the Pathan Emperors of Delhi or by their representatives in the province. There is little doubt that Maheśa Thakkura had the bulk of the Sircar Tirhut. There is a tradition that villages were settled with other proprietors or "Raj Vassals" under the permanent settlement in the district of Muzaffarpur and even Champaran, that formerly belonged to the Darbhanga Rāj. Some grants of lands in these villages made by the Rājas of Darbhanga are still to be found to show that these villages belonged formerly to the Darbhanga Rāj, I have heard this from several sources and have also seen some papers which corroborate this statement.

It is a pity that inspite of my best efforts I have not been able to see any sanad granted previously to Rājā Narendra Siṃha's time, and it is difficult to guess at the nature of the power exercised by the Rājā of Darbhanga from Maheśa Thakkura down to Rāghava Siṃha. Regarding absence of records it is said that when the Rāj was taken away by the Collector of Tirhut from Rājā Mādhava Siṃha and he had to run away, a number of old family documents were lost and also many valuable records were lost during the Court of Wards regime as

these records along with some ancient jewellery were taken away by some dismissed old servants.

There seems little doubt that Maheśa Thakkura took the place in Tirhut formerly occupied by Kāmeśwara Thakkur family[1] and therefore the grant made by Akbar to Maheśa Thakkura must have been of the same nature as the grant of Tirhut made by Firoz Shah Toghlak in the beginning of the 14th century to Kameśwara Thakkura, especially as the grant to Maheśa Thakkura was made not long after the dissolution of the Kāmeśwara dynasty in Mithilā. It was natural that a Brāhmaṇa should succeed a Brāhmaṇa, especially as the population then consisted mainly of Maithila Brāhmanas.

The Ain-i-Akhbari which was written by Abul Fazal during the life time of Emperor Akbar and which describes the state of things in India about the year 1690 does not mention the grant to Maheśa Thakkura, and the first historical mention of the Darbhanga Rāj is to be found either in Sair-ul-mutakharim or in the Riazul-salatin[2] both of which belong to the 18th century. These are urged as arguments against the assumption that the owners of the Darbhanga Rāj had absolute powers for the management of Tirhut vested in them. It is often said that they were mere revenue collectors or Jagirdars to start with, and that there was no semblance of Rajaship. But it may be argued with some force that if there is no mention of the Darbhanga Raj either in Akbar-Nama or Ain-i-Akbari or Jahangir-Nama etc. there is nothing on the other hand exactly to show how Tirhut was managed after the disruption of the Kāmeśwara dynasty. We hear of Govenors of Tirhut, but we are not told if these Governors governed Tirhut without any intermediary Rāja. It is also known that about the year 1661, i.e., about 54 years after Akbar's death, there was a special Fauzdar (military governor) of Darbhanga (Mirza Khan) who assisted Daud Khan, the Governor of Patna in invading Palāmau.[3] But even this does not illuminate mat-

1 Cf Account of the Kāmeswara dynasty in Mithila in part, III of this work.

2 The Ain-i Akbari gives an account of all the literary men of Akbar's time. It mentions some Bengali of literary fame but there is no mention of Maheśa Thakkura.

3 Page 39 of Sarkar's History of Auranzeb, Vol: III (M. C. Sarkar and Son's edition).

ters much, for it leaves us to wonder who really exercised magisterial functions etc. about that time. The cumulative effect of all these considerations is that Maheśa Thakkura took the place of Kāmeśwara Thakkura after the dissolution of the latter's family about the year 1525. The quotation I have made previously from Riyazu-salatin would fully justify the inference that the Rājās of Maheśa Thakkura's family often proved recalcitrant in payment of revenue to the Imperial officers and they could do so with impunity. They did not even acknowledge their allegiance to the Government This points to their knowledge of the obsolute power vested in them, and shows that they were bound to the crown only so far as they had to pay the Imperial revenue and that they looked after all the internal affairs themselves. The conditions of administration laid down by Ali Vardi Khan for Rājā Rāghava Siṁha, already mentioned, such as doing justice, relieving distress, putting the country in a flourishing state and keeping it so mean unmistakably the ruling power and this is a strong evidence of the powers enjoyed by them. The previous pages record some of the important fights in which they took part. It would appear, however, that it was only at the time of Nawab Ali Vardi Khan and his successor that the Nawabs of Murshidabad on whom Imperial authority had devolved owing to anarchy prevailing at that time that they tried their best to strip the Raja of Tirhut of their powers and privileges.

Unfortunately the copies of the Rubakārs relating to Darbhanga Rāj at the time of the Decennial and Permanent Settlements are not available or accessible, nor are several decisions of the Provincial courts at Patna bearing on the Darbhanga Rāj to be had. But one fact is very conspicuous and it is that Mahārājā of Darbhanga is the only Maharajā in Bihar who was called the Mahārājā of a sircar (i.e. a district) i.e. of Tirhut[3] excepting

[1] Papers mentioned in Macnoughton's Select Reports, Vol. VII, page 273 would be very valuable if found. I have not been able to find them

[2] Cf. *Moore's Indian Appeals*, Vol: VI, pages 164, 168, and 18 .

[3] The name Rajā of Tirhut has been applied to the Rajas of Darbhanga from the early periods Reference may be had to page 479 of the Fifth Report on East India Affairs, Vol: II by Firminger, Calcutta, 1917 edition.

Also Cf. Macnoughton's Select Reports, Vol: VII where the word Raja of Tirhut appears: also Cf. Moore's Indian appeals, Vol VI, p. 188. Reference may

perhaps the Rājā or Mahārājas of Bhojpur and Champaran.[1]

The contention that the whole of Sarkar Tirhut was granted to Maheśa Thakkura is borne out by the fact that the parganā of Dharampur so far as in the Purnea district, but included in the ancient boundaries of Tirhut has almost, from the beginning, been in the possession of the Darbhanga Rāj, though I have not been able to trace the exact date when it came into the possession of the Rāj.[2]

As far back as 1785, their Lordships of the Privy Council have called the Darbhanga Rāj a Principality and quite separate from the minor grants attached to it. They have also defined the Principality[3] as a sovereignty or a subordinate sovereignty which in its very nature excludes the idea of division in the sense in which that term is used.[4] They also held that the Darbhanga Rāj was an ancient Rāj with its own vassals or tenants and that its proprietors were rulers and that the whole of Sircar Tirhut was granted to Maheśa Thakkura to whom all the Zamindars in Tirhut were responsible, but who was alone responsible to the Imperial Government.[5] Further it appears that the Rājā of Darbhanga used to collect revenue from the then existing Zamindars who were under them and pay tribute direct to the Imperial Government on that account and further they gave lands as free-gifts to the priests relations, and others, some of which still exist as such. There is ample evidence of the above. Besides these two kinds of lands there were also some lands in their khās possession, of which they used to collect the charges direct from ryots. At the time of settlement only lands in their khās possession were settled with them and claims for the rest disallowed. All this confirms the idea that Maheśa Thakkura got his sanad as a ruling Chief from the Emperor Akbar,[6] and the power of

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also be had to p. 86, Purneah Settlement Report (1908) by Byrne. A resolution of the Governor-General in Council, 1779, has been quoted, in which reference has been made to the Zamindar of Tirhut."

[1] Cf. appendix which gives an account of the Bettiah Raj.

[2] Moore's Indian Appeals Vol: VI, page 178

[3] Do. Do pages 188-192.

[4] Do. Do. page 187.

[5] Moore's Indian Appeals Vol: VI, page 188.

[6] It is now recognised, however, on all hands that the Mahārājā of Darbhanga

a Chief was enjoyed for a long line by his successors in the Raj.

In fact, it will be clear from the foregoing that there was a time when the Rājās of Darbhanga were in possession of the whole of Sircar Tirhut (now divided into the districts of Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga), either as farmers, Mokarraridars or as proprietors and that to start with, Maheś Thakur got the grant of the whole of Sircar Tirhut.[1] In any case it is admitted on all hands that, at the time of the Decennial and Permanent Settlement about the year 1790 A.D., the whole of Sircar Tirhut was in some way or other in actual possession of Rajā Madhu or Mādhava Simha of Darbhanga, though it is said that he was only a farmer in respect of the major portion of Sircar Tirhut. But it is admitted that he was the Sadar Malguzar or Zamindar,[1] i.e. he used to pay revenue for the whole of Sircar Tirhut to Government. It is also said that the Rājās of Tirhut, i.e. of Darbhanga, used to oblige their favourites and relatives by grants of land. But it is clear from correspondence about Rājā Madhu or Mādhava Simha of Tirhut,[4] i.e. Darbhanga, that while he asserted that he was the overlord of proprietors of the whole of Sircar Tirhut, the local revenue authorities of the time

is the head of the Srotriya sect of Maithila Brāhmaṇas in Tirhut. Ghose's Indian Chief, Rajās. Zamindars etc. Part III mentions that (1) the title of Rājā was the hereditary title for this family (2) the whole of Tirhut was under the Raj for a certain jāmā.

[1] This may seem to be in conflict with para. 2 of Mr. Kerr's Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the Darbhanga District (1896-1903) wherein it is stated that Mahes Thakkur got the grant of what are now the Darbhanga Raj Estates. Traditions and every thing point to the fact that he got the grant of the whole of Sircar Tirhut and not only of what are now the Darbhanga Raj Estates. It may be noted that in the same paragraph it is stated that Mahes Thakkur who is said to have come from Jabbalpur took service as a priest with the descendants of Raja Siva Simha who still exercised a nominal supremacy over Tirhut but as they collapsed before the advancing Muhammadan power, Mahes Thakur managed to get Akbar to confer upon him the grant of what are now the Darbhanga Raj Estates. The statement above, if correct, points to the fact that Mahes Thakkur was set in authority over the whole area (i.e. Sircar Tirhut) formerly in possession of Siva Simha (i.e. the Kameswar dynasty). Local traditions, however, in Tirhut call Maheśa Thakkur a priest of the *Raja of Bastar* and not of the *Rājas of Tirhut*, i.e. Kameswar family.

[2] Cf. pages 39-49 of the Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the district of Muzaffarpur (1892-1899) by C. J. Stevenson Moore.

[3] Those who were held responsible to Government for the revenue of several villages or parganas were called Zimmadars or Zamindars or Malguzars."

Cf. "Sahihu-i-Akbar" by Sarupchand, pp. 314-15, by Elliot Vol. VIII, London edition, 1877.

[4] It is remarkable that in the revenue proceedings regarding the Decennial and Permanent Settlements, Madhu Simha has been referred to as a Raja of Tirhut.

appear to have lent themselves to the other extreme and denied that he was proprietor of any land at all in the whole of Sircar Tirhut. Raja Madhu Simha accepted settlement after his infructuous efforts extending over twenty years for recognition as proprietor of the whole of Sircar Tirhut and this very fact shows inherent belief or conviction regarding his rights over Sircar Tirhut though the whole of Sircar was not settled with Rājā Madhu or Mādhava Simha at the time of the Permanent Settlement, yet allowance for Malikanā or Dasturant made in his favour under the orders of the Government of India would go to show that the Government recognised that Madhu Simha had some plausible claim over the whole of the Sircar Tirhut. It is difficult now to ascertain without a close examination of all the proceedings of the then Collectors Messrs. Grand and Bathurst who conducted the negotiations for the Decennial Settlement, how it came to be held that he was only a farmer in respect of a major portion of Sircar Tirhut.

It will follow from the above that so far as Sircar Tirhut is concerned, the possessions of the Darbhanga Rāj have decreased,[1] and not increased, in this Sircar.

It is often asked why Akbar made grant of Sircar Tirhut to Maheś Thakkur. But the reason is not difficult to understand. Akbar was a great lover of learning. There is nothing improbable in the tradition that Akbar presented Maheś Thakkur with Sircar Tirhut in token of his admiration for Maheś Thakkur's vast learning displayed at his Court. It is also known that one Maheś Thakkur wrote a Sanskṛt history of a part of Akbar's reign.[2] It is probable that this writer of Sanskṛt history of Akbar was the recipient of Sircar Tirhut at Akbar's hand. It should also be remembered that Maheś Thakkur came

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1 Cf. Appendix VI. Chap. XVI. p. L. of the Survey Settlement Report. Purneah. 1908, where it is stated about Pargana Haveli in the Purnea district:—"The huge property, covering an area of 2,000 sqr miles, was settled with Rānī Indrabati, daughter of Rājā Mādho Singh of Darbhanga and wife of Rājā Indranārāyana. It was given as her dowry on her marriage to Rājā Indranārāyana who died childless." The above shows that the former extent of the Darbhanga Rāj was very vast.

2 Cf. V. N. Smith's "Akbar the Great Moghul," Oxford edit. 1917, page 486. It is said that the Sanskrit history, preserved in the India Office, London, appears to have been written by one Maheśa Thakkura about the year 1650 A.D, but it is probable that the manuscript preserved in India office is only a copy of the original written during the lifetime of Akbar.

into prominence and received grant of Sircar Tirhut soon after the dismemberment of the Kāmeśwar dynasty of Brahmins in Tirhut about the year 1530 A D.[1] and there is nothing improbable in the tradition that the authority vested in the learned Brāhmana Maheśa Thakkur was of the same nature at that enjoyed by his predecessors of the Kameśwar dynasty.

Akbar's reputation as a liberal minded patron coupled with the fact that the Governor of Bihar, Hajipur and Bengal in those days was Raja Man Singh[2] of Jaipur, adds colour to the tradition that Maheś Thakkura was set in full authority in Tirhut with the help of Rājā Mana Singha.

I have also heard it asserted that the Maharaja possesses a Farman from a Mugal Emperor by which his ancestor Raja Pratap Singh was honoured with the title of "Istekbal" which is interpreted to mean "possessed of absolute powers." Without seeing the Farman and examining the context one cannot say how far this interpretation can stand

It may also be mentioned that there are two unpublished books to be found in the Darbhanga district *viz.* one by Gopal Jha and the other by one Sona Kavi In both these books (date uncertain) several accounts (some of these of a miraclous kind) have been given of Mahesha Thakur and his family and it has been asserted that he got independent powers from Emperor Akbar But though the dates of these works are not beyond doubt they serve at least as traditions of the origin of the Dārbhanga Raj.

The Bihar and Orissa Research Society has discovered a judgment of a Mithila Hindu Court in Sanskrita dated Saka 1716 (A.D. 1794) i.e. it was written during the the time of Raja Madhav Simha of Darbhanga. This judgment decides possession of two rival Brahman families in Mithila or Tirhut over a slave girl and is of unique importance as it contains all the elements of a judgment

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1 Cf. An account of the Kāmeswar dynasty.

2 Cf. V. N. Smith's "Akbar the Great Moghul" Oxford edition, 1917, page 241.

3 Cf. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's note in Bihar and Orissa Research Society Journal, Vol: VI., Part II, June 1920, also 24 C. W. N. CXLIX.

required by the Hindu Sastras[1] It has recently been inferred from the judgment that Raja Madhav Singh and his predecessors were possessed of absolute powers in in Tirhut This inference in itself may not be very convincing but considered in light of all other facts relating to the Darbhanga Raj, it lends firm support to the belief regarding the absolute power once vested in this family.[2]

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[1] Cf. Professor Jolly's note. 25 C W. N Page CXLII

[2] For a detailed account of the stories prevalent regarding this family, see "Khandabala Kulavinoda," Darbhanga Raj Press, 1329 Fasli It purports to publish a manuscript by one Gopal Jhaw said to have been a contemporary of Rāja Narendra Simha

APPENDIX F.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE EUROPEAN FACTORIES FOR INDIGO AND SUGAR MANUFACTURE IN THE TIRHUT DIVISION.

Indigo was a product of North Bihar long before the advent of the British,[1] but its cultivation on European

[1] There is abundant evidence in support of the belief that when Europeans first began to purchase and export the dye from India it was procured from the Western presidency and shipped for the most part from Surat. It was carried by the Portuguese to Lisbon and sold by them to the dyers of Holland. It was the desire to secure a more certain supply of dye-stuff that led to the formation, in 1631, of the Dutch East India Company, and shortly after to the overthrow of the Portuguese supremacy in the East. The success of the Dutch merchants aroused the jealousy of Europe. The woad growers and merchants of Germany, France and England were threatened with ruin, and to protect them nearly every country passed edicts rendering the importation or use of indigo a criminal offence punishable by death.

In 1608 England learnt the art of indigo dyeing, and in the reign of Queen Elizabeth its use was permitted along with woad. Curiously enough this mixing of woad with indigo survives to the present day, and to meet this demand a small amount of the woad is grown here and there over Europe, and even in England. The opposition to indigo was, however, so strong that it was again, on the pretext of being poisonous, prohibited, and in 1660, Charles II, had to procure dyers from Belgium to once more teach the English the art of using the dye. The effect of the persistent export of the dye from India, conducted by the East India Company, had the effect of stimulating the Spanish, French, Portuguese and English colonists to make strenuous efforts to produce the dye in many countries outside India. And so successful were they that for a time they ruined the ancient Indian traffic. But McPherson (Hist. Europ. Comm. Ind. 1812, 202) speaks of the East India Company having voluntarily given up the importation of indigo into England "in order to avoid a competition with the British Colonists in the West Indies and the southern provinces of North America. About the year 1747 most of the planters in the West Indies, particularly in Jamaica, gave up the cultivation of indigo in consequence of the high duty imposed upon it;" "The planters of Carolina and Georgia were never able to bring their indigo to a quality equal to that of Guatimala or St. Domingo." But political difficulties occurred with America and France, and at the same time sugar and coffee had proved even more profitable in the West Indies than indigo. The impetus was thus given for a re-establishment of the Indian traffic and, as one of the many surprises of the industry, the province of Bengal was selected for this revival. It had no sooner been organized, however, than troubles next arose in Bengal itself through misunderstandings between the planters, their cultivators, and the Government, which may be said to have culminated in Lord Macaulay's famous Memorandum of 1837. This led to another migration of the industry from Lower and Eastern Bengal to Tirhut and the United Provinces. Here the troubles of the industry did not end, for, just as indigo had ruined "the Waid Herrn," so the researches of the chemical laboratories of Germany threatened the very existence of any natural vegetable dye. They first killed the maddar dye of Europe, then the safflower, the lac and the dyes of India, and are now advancing rapidly with synthetic indigo, intent on the complete annihilation of the natural dye. Opinions differ on many aspects of the present vicissitude; meantime the exports from India have seriously declined, and salvation admittedly lies in the path of cheaper production both in cultivation and manufacture. These issues are being vigorously faced and some progress has been accomplished, but the future of the industry can scarcely

methods appears to have been started by Mr. F. Grand, the Collector, in 1782.[1] It is at least from that time that it begins to develop into an industry, and since then has very much increased in extent and importance.

In a report dated 4th February, 1788, the Collector gave a list of 12 Europeans, not in the Honorable Company's service, residing within the limits of the Collectorship of Tirhut, 10 of whom were said to have been in possession of indigo works.[2] The names of 6 of them were James Gentil, G. W. S. Schuman, James Gellan, manager of Peter de Rozario, a native Portuguese, John Miller, and Francis Rose The last named forcibly set himself down in the midst of Raja Raj Ballab's jagir in Tirhut and started indigo. In 1793, the Collector submitted a list of the indigo factories then in the district. Their number had increased to nine, and the records show that Mr. Neave, Judge of Tirhut, had to pay special attention to keeping them in order.[3] They were as follows:—

help being described as of great uncertainty. The issue is not the advantage of new regulations of land tenure, but one exclusively of natural versus synthetic indigo—Pages 668-69 of "The Commercial Products of India," by Sir George Watt, 1908 edition.

Only three years after his appointment as Collector of Tirhut, Mr. Grand wrote in 1785:—

"I introduced the manufacturing of indigo after the European manner, encouraged the establishment of indigo works and plantations, and erected three at my own expense"—(Cf. page 96 of the Muzaffarpur Gazetteer, Calcutta edition, 1907, by L S. S. O Malley.

For an account of indigo during the East India Company regime cf. pages 208–212 of Vol I and pages 398-404 of Vol. II of the Good Old Days of Hon'ble John Company –by W H Carey, Calcutta, 1906 edition

It appears that the first English Factory founded in this part of the country between 1650–1700 A.D. was at Singia or Lalganj near Hajipur. It was a Saltpetre Factory. The Factory was established there though Singia was unhealthy, because it was close to Saltpetre and removed from the interference of the Nawab and his deputies at Patna, and still not far from Patna. The chief of the Bihar establishment lived at Singia—Cf pp. 53—4, Vol. I of the "Early Annals of the English in Bihar," by Wilson, 1895

Also pp. 92, 122, 183, 290, 308, 320 and 368 of do. do. Vol. III, 1917.

[1] Paras. 867 to 875 of Mr Stevenson-Moore's Settlement Report of the Muzaffarpur District (1892–1899).

[2] On the 24th December, 1792, the Collector received stringent oders to allow no European to hold lands, until he had first obtained the leave of the Governor General in Council; and in subsequent records we accordingly find numerous applications for this permission. No doubt, this rule was part of the Company's monopolizing policy; but it may be partly due to the new-comers having established their factories within the lands of the old ones, as in 1801 some planters petitioned Government to lay down rules which should prevent one factory from encroaching within another's *dehat*, as constant quarrels and litigations were taking place on account of this practice (page 99 of "A Statistical Account of Bengal" by W. W. Hunter, Vol XIII, Trubner & Co., London, 1877 edition.

[3] All British subjects had to reside within 10 miles of some British settlement

No. of Works.	Name.		Name of the Proprietors
1	Daudpur		
1	Saraya	..	William Orby Hunter
1	Dholi		
1	Athar	..	James Gentil
1	Shahpur	..	Richardson Purves.
1	Kanti		
1	Motipur	..	Alexander Namell.
1	Deoria	..	Finch.
1	Banara	..	Lewis Kick etc.. G M L S. Schuman.
9 works.			

In those times non-official Europeans were still under surveillance, and in the year 1799, a statement was furnished of the quantity of land held by them, for what purpose, from what period, and on what authority. It appears that the area under indigo in 1794 was only 767 bighas 14 kathas, or 670 acres, for the whole of Tirhut Now there is no less than 33,988 acres indigo, or 5·26 per cent of the cultivated area in the district of Muzaffarpur alone. In 1804, the Collector submitted another statement of the lands held by Europeans in the district of Tirhut in the year 1803. He reported that there were 25 indigo concerns including the concerns of Daudpur, Saraya, Dholi, Athar, Shahpur, Kanti, Motipur, Deoria, Bhâwarah, Muhammadpur, Belsar, Piparaghat, Dalsinghsarai, Jitwarpur, Tiwara, Kamtaul, Chitwara, Pupri and Shahpurundi, but the area under indigo was only 586 bighas, or 512 acres. Many concerns must no doubt have been just

unless they held a special license from the Governor-General or the East India Company and no one could reside beyond the time specified in the license. No British subject in those days could acquire land without permission. Accordingly in 1793, Judge Neave ordered a Frenchman named Double (Donbal) or Dombal? and one Thomas Parke who had settled at Saraiya and Singia respectively without such license, to quit Tirhut. He cautioned Mr. James Arnold of Dholi (who had beaten a brâhmaṇa) against all ill-usage of the natives." The same judge had to ask Mr. James Gentil, Indigo Planter of Ottar, to appear by vakeel and not to address him personally on any subject when he was a party concerned, as his opponent might justly complain that the Judge had received extra-judicial information when he had no opportunity of doing the same (pp. V. and VI "History of Bihar Indigo Factories" by Minden Wilson, Calcutta, 1908).

starting, and from that time onward the increase of indigo cultivation grows very rapid.

In October, 1810, the Collector, with reference to a project for giving planters credit at the public treasury, wrote a letter full of interest because it emphasises the advantages of the industry to the labouring classes who were even at that time presumably numerous and impoverished enough to attract official attention. He wrote:—

"I am the more readily induced to suggest a remittance through the indigo-planters from an idea that Government may at some future day if not immediately (as indigo is sometimes purchased on acccount of the Company), wish to encourage Europeans in every species of commerce and to facilitate their means of circulating ready cash among the industrious and labouring poor of their vicinity, for the people that the indigo-planters employ are mostly men of this description, that is, cultivators and labourers for daily and monthly hire. I understand that not less, at a rough estimate, than from 30 to 50 thousand souls receive their principal support from indigo factories of this district.

"That the Board may be able to form some idea of the benefit that the district derives from the number of indigo speculators, they have to observe that, let the speculator win or lose, acquire a princely fortune or die a pauper, the district is equally benefitted by his industry, and his struggles for prosperity do rarely succeed. Some of the planters, but I fear the majority of them, fail: however, whether the balance of their accounts are for or against them, the labouring poor and industrious cultivators of their neighbourhood ever reaped advantage from their enterprising and persevering ardour in this which (to gentlemen not in the service or who have no particular profession or employment) seems to be a most enticing and fascinating pursuit.

"I further beg leave to mention that there are about 25 factories dispersed about the district; that each factory is supposed to employ about 3, 4 or 50,000 persons—men, women and children in—the various and progressive branches of their business, as preparing the land, ploughing, sowing, weeding, collecting the seed for the ensuing year, bringing the plants to the vats, and the different

processes in the manufacturing of the drug till embarked for the Calcutta market, where it pays a duty and is finally packed up for Europe, and I understand that one year with another, there is seldom less than 10,000 maunds of indigo sent to Calcutta from this district

"Permit me still further to mention that each factory on an average is said to disburse about from 25 to 30,000 rupees per annum in hard cash to labourers, raiyats and cultivators for some miles round their factories. This estimate shows that a sum possibly not less than 6 or 7 lakhs of rupees is annually circulated in zila Tirhut by a few enterprising European Indigo-planters and that too to people who are most in want of such constant and certain aid—cultivators, day-labourers, and their families."

But in 1828 the pendulum had swung back, and the Collector suggested some restriction of the industry as desirable. He wrote:—

"Indigo cultivation has been increased so greatly in this district that I am of opinion, for the benefit of the district, some restrictions should be put upon it. From the misunderstanding which has prevailed and still prevails amongst the European planters, disputes with one another are of very frequent occurrence: disputes have, however, of late occurred through descendants of Europeans embarking in indigo cultivation, chiefly, if not entirely, on native agency For the peace of the district and welfare of the established planters it therefore appears highly desirable that the Government restrictions regarding the erection of factories by Europeans should be extended to the descendants of Europeans, and power be vested in the Magistrate to prevent engagements for the cultivation of indigo plant by other than the proprietor or proprietors of one established factory."

The Revenue Survey found in 1850, 86 factories in the district of Tirhut (now districts of Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga). Several of them, which were then used for the manufacture of sugar, were subsequently converted into indigo concerns. Thus Aurai, then a sugar factory, and Deoria, partly an indigo and partly a sugar factory now manufacture indigo exclusively. In fact, it was at this time that sugar was finally superseded by indigo as the European industry of the district.

It may be mentioned here that on the European indigo planters mainly fell the duty of keeping peace and order during troublous times of the Sepoy Mutiny (the time of the Sepoy Mutiny, 1856–58). It may be justly asserted that it was by the influence and the vigilance of the European planters, which preserved the effects of the mutiny being felt in Tirhut

It may be stated that the concerns of Dalsinghsarai, Tewara, Jitwarpur (now in Darbhanga District which then formed part of Tirhut District) which were all founded before the close of the 18th century, were all at the time of Revenue Survey in a flourishing condition. In 1874 the largest concern in Tirhut was Pandaul which with its out-works comprised an area of 300 square miles.

The cultivation of indigo on European methods, which was started in Muzaffarpur by Mr F. Grand, the Collector in 1782, does not appear to have been introduced into Champaran until thirty years later, when in 1813 after the close of the Nepal War, Colonel Hickley founded a factory at Bara. Soon after, the Rajpur and Turkaulia concerns were started by Messrs. Moran and Hill respectively, and later on, in 1845, Captain Taylor built Siraha. In those days, however, the main industry of the European planter was sugar and not indigo. The Collector in 1816, writing of the indigenous products of his districts, omits even the mention of indigo, but a successor, writing in 1830, speaks of the authorities being "able to avail themselves of the assistance of the indigo planters spread over a large extent of country." Sugar, however, continued to be a flourishing industry, until about 1850, and the Revenue Survey of 1847 makes frequent mention of steam sugar factories scattered through several parganas of the district. There was one at Mirpur, now an out-work of the Motihari indigo concern. A few years later, however, sugar appears to have been entirely replaced by indigo.

In Champaran, a backward district mainly split up into a few extensive zamindaries, the thikadari or farming system largely prevailed from the earliest times, and this naturally was the tenure under which the European planters first acquired their interests in land.

The advance of the industry was seriously threatened

in 1867–68, when there was a strong demonstration against the cultivation of indigo, accompanied in some instances by acts of violence.[1] The causes of dissatisfaction on the part of the ryots were several. They objected to the unusual trouble and hard labour required for the successful production of the indigo plant, and felt that the rates being paid for its cultivation did not give adequate remuneration for the labour expended. There was a widespread knowledge that enormous profits were made from indigo, and they had a natural desire to obtain a larger share of them, while the high prices of food had raised the profits obtained from the cultivation of food-grains, and therefore made indigo still more unpopular than before. Further, they resented the harassment of the factory servants, who, besides committing various acts of oppression, were alleged to be in the habit of taking a large percentage of the payments made to the ryots as their own perquisites under the general name of *dasturi*. Added to all this, there was an absence, on the part of the managers of factories, of that sympathy with the ryots which used formerly to be displayed by the old proprietor planters, who paid more attention to the well-being of their tenantry.

The opposition of the ryots showed itself in a general refusal to sow indigo, and in some cases in the forcible appropriation to other crops of the lands already prepared for the cultivation of indigo. The first instance of such proceedings occurred in a village called Jeukatia, the ryots of which, in defiance of the contract into which they had entered with the Lalsaraiya factory, sowed their lands with cold weather crops; and this example was rapidly followed by other villagers. As the interests of the planters at stake were very considerable, and it was necessary that they should receive prompt and final decisions on their complaints, Government, at their request, established a Small Cause Court at Motihari, with jurisdiction over the entire district of Champaran, for the trial of all cases of breach of contract between them and the ryots. This court was composed of two judges, the one a Covenanted Civil Servant and the other a native gentle-

[1] O'Malley's Gazetteer of the Champaran District, 1907 edition, page 108.

man; and these two officers were directed to sit together for the trial of all suits connected with the indigo question. The result of this measure was entirely satisfactory. But few suits were instituted, the mere knowledge that such a court was at hand to enforce promptly the payment of damages for breach of contracts being apparently sufficient to deter the ryots from wantonly breaking them. At the same time, the demands of the ryots were met by concessions from the planters, whose bearing was most moderate and temperate throughout this trying period. Within nine weeks of the establishment of the court, the Lieutenant-Governor was able to put an end to its special constitution, leaving the native judge only to preside over it. Before it was too late to retrieve the prospects of the indigo season, all open opposition to the cultivation had ceased.

The disputes between the ryots and planters had at one time threatened to become very serious. The local officers almost unanimously reported that the cultivation of indigo had become very unpopular, and that there was not a ryot who would not abandon the cultivation if he could; and this state of things was ascribed as much to the insufficiency of the remuneration which the ryots received, as to the exactions, oppression, and annoyance to which they were exposed at the hands of the factory servants. Government was satisfied that time had passed when planters could hope to carry on an indigo concern profitably by forcing on the ryots a cultivation and labour which were to them unprofitable; and it was clear that in the altered circumstances of the time they must be prepared either to close their factories or to give to the ryots, in some shape or other, a remuneration which should make it worth their while to grow indigo. This necessity was recognised by the general body of planters, and they yielded to the pressure, raising the rate of remuneration from Rs. 7-8-0 to Rs. 12 per bigha.

It was believed that this movement among the ryots was instigated by certain persons who had their own interest to serve; and this belief appeared to be borne out by the fact that the open opposition to the planters was mainly confined to the estates of the Maharaja of Bettiah. The management of the Bettiah estate by an

English gentleman was said to have given rise to much dissatisfaction among the influential natives of the Raja's household, whose opportunities of enriching themselves at the expense of the Raja had been restricted thereby; and the combination among the ryots was said to have been got up by them, mainly with the object of involving the manager of the estate in difficulties, so that the Raja, disgusted with the management, might allow his affairs to revert to their former neglected condition.[1]

Ten years later the financial embarrassment of the same estate resulted in the indigo industry being placed on a firm footing. Hitherto the planters had been able only to secure temporary leases of land, but circumstances now arose which gave them a more permanent and secure hold on the soil. By 1876, the Bettiah Raj, owing to the extravagance of the Maharaja and the mismanagement of his employees, had become heavily involved in debt; and as a means of extricating it from its difficulties a European Manager,[2] Mr. T. Gibbon, was appointed. One of the first steps of the new manager was to ensure financial equilibrium, and the Guilliland House consented to float a sterling loan of nearly 95 lakhs, on the sole condition of substantial European security. To satisfy this condition and cover the interest on the loan, permanent leases of villages were granted to indigo planters, and the industry was thus placed on a secure basis. Permanent rights in the land being assured, the cultivation of indigo was widely extended, until by the end of the 19th century no less than 21 factories, with 48 out-works, had been established, while the area under indigo was 95,070 acres, or 6·6 per cent of the cultivated area.

The planters have shown their regard for organization from the beginning of their existence in Tirhut. It appears that as early as 1801, the planters of Tirhut (Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga), Champaran and Saran instituted a joint committee and framed rules of business. In 18;7,

[1] C. E. Buckland, Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors, Calcutta, 1901

[2] Pages 108-111 of Mr. O'Malley's Gazetteer of the Champaran District (1907 edition).

It is a sufficiently striking fact that in nearly half of the district of Champaran the indigo concerns exercise the rights of landlord. Under the term landlords are included, of course, all classes of tenure-holding as well as of proprietory right. Para. 531 of Mr. Stevenson Moore's Champaran Settlement Report, 1892-1899

they held a meeting and framed an useful Code of Rules. Again in 1877, they formally established their association which they designated as the Bihar Indigo Planters' Association[1] at Muzaffarpur and which came to be officially recognised by the Government.

A report submitted by the Commissioner of Patna conclusively showed that the system of cultivation then prevailing involved an amount of lawlessness and oppression, principally in the shape of extorted agreements to cultivate and of seizure of ploughs and cattle, which could not be tolerated. On receipt of this report, some of the leading planters as well as the officials of Bihar were consulted through the Commissioner. It was important to do nothing which would unduly excite the mind of the ryots, and to avoid any such agitation as might lead to breaches of contract and the general embitterment of the relations between planters and ryots; and as some of the leading planters declared themselves sensible of the necessity of reform and willing to assist in the work, and for this purpose undertook the establishment of a Planters' Association, action on the part of Government[2] was postponed and the matter was entrusted to their hands. This body showed a sincere desire to place the relations between planters and ryots on a more satisfactory footing, and drew up a series of rules embodying very important reforms for the guidance of the members of the Association. Since that time it has always tried to maintain friendly relations both with the cultivators and Government; and that it has helped greatly in advancing the development and prosperity of this part of the country. This is the more satisfactory when it is remembered that the cultivation of indigo is not very popular with the

1 An account of the establishment of the Bihar Indigo Planters' Association is given in the Bengal Administrative Report of 1877-78.

2 The Bengal Government in 1877 intended to appoint a representative Commission for the investigation of the grievances of the ryots but dropped the idea on the establishment of this Association The Secretary to Government wrote to the Association :—

"In reference to the final paragraph of your letter, I am to say that as long as the association show their present willingness to meet the Lieut.-Governor's views and get rid of the obvious blots on the system, the Lieutenant-Governor has no intention of interfering in any way or of doing anything which can hamper the planters in the conduct of their business. All he desires is that the law should be strictly obeyed, and that indigo planting should be carried on like other commercial enterprises without such frequent complaints over the necessity for Executive interference which have hitherto characterized it."

ryot, as though it is raised on only a small proportion of his holding, indigo is not so remunerative as other crops which he might grow on the same land; he does not like the constant worry of being supervised by the factory servants, and there is consequently the risk of friction with the factory. On the other hand, the planters have consistently shown themselves true friends to the cultivators and labourers in periods of adversity. Their readiness to help the latter was very clearly shown in the famine of 1896 97, and the value of their services at this time of distress may be gathered from the remarks of the Commissioner of Patna who wrote —"The planting community, as in 1873–74, proved to be of inestimable value in the crisis. In the former year many of these were stimulated by the prospects of pecuniary advantage; in 1896–97 no such stimulus was offered; but at an early stage of the operations their services were offered gratuitously—an offer which they more than redeemed. A Number of them sacrificed time, ease and health to assist Government, and many of them have been losers by their public spirited efforts. Yet the work has been cheerfully done, and the community have once more proved themselves invaluable to the administration.

In 1896, Germany introduced its cheap synthetic (indigo) dye into the world market and the natural indigo industry of Tirhut received a set back so that its price was reduced from Rs. 250 to Rs. 150 a maund. The result eventually was that the indigo planters were hard hit and the land growing indigo had to be put under "Tobacco and Sugar." The Indigo Planters' Association was reconstituted in 1905, and was christened as the "Bihar Planters' Association" with branches in the four districts and with special Sub-Committees for advising on the industrial expansion,—manufacture and cultivation of sugar, tobacco, indigo, etc. Government have from time to time appointed experts to advice them on the best methods of manufacture and cultivation of indigo, sugar-cane, etc., and fortunately for this industry, the German synthetic indigo was shout ut by the war towards the close of 1914. This stimulated interest in indigo cultivation in Tirhut once more on an extreme scale. But even now indigo can have only an uncertain future as it is most likely that the manufac-

ture of synthetic indigo will attract attention in England and the best hope for this industry in Tirhut lies in the preparation of the natural indigo into paste in which form the synthetic dye advantageously appears, and it is a good augury that experts are not late in taking this question up

In the year 1917–18 Local Government passed a special Agrarian Act affecting the indigo and other industries in Champaran. By this the *thinkathia* right by which the planters used to claim 2 to 3 kathas for each bigha under the plough, for cultivation of special crops such as indigo, sugar, etc., by them, has been extinguished and European industries in Tirhut put on a commercial basis. This act, it may be mentioned, is the result of an Agrarian Committee appointed by Government in the 2nd half of 1917 to examine the relations between the planters and their ryots to which Mr. M. K. Gandhi attracted their attention.

It may be stated in winding up, that in spite of their differences with ryots from time to time, the planters have nevertheless been a most useful and public spirited body. They have given education to the ryots in various directions. There are so many of the primary schools, dispensaries, roads, wells and tanks in Muffasil Tirhut, which owe their origin to the influence of the planters. There was a time when they used to settle all the disputes and troubles of the ryots in a homely way without reference to the expensive law courts. The extension of sugar industry under their scientific eyes has considerably improved the economic condition of a section of the Tirhut tenantry. The installation of up to-date plant by the European planters has given stimulus to Indians in some cases to take up industries on a large scale. As Thikadars the planters have been most regular payers of rent to the proprietors, and have saved many a zamindary family by loans and friendly advice. And their use of up-to-date methods of agriculture has been an example for others to follow.

The name of the Tirhut Planters is associated with the Bihar Light Horse. The genesis of the institution is that a number of them who guarded Muzaffarpur during the dark days of the mutiny in 1857–58, applied to Government for their constitution into a regular corps

which was sanctioned in 1861–62 with the designation of "Subah Bihar Mounted Rifles." In 1886, Government appointed an Agent to look after their drills and their designation was changed into "Bihar Light Horse" under a special Act under which the membership consisted of all willing and active Europeans and not only of planters, quite a number of them joined Lumsden's Horse (organized by Colonel Lumsden of the Assam Valley Light Horse) for service in South Africa in 1900. During 1914–18, many of them distinguished themselves in the war with Germany and during the same period the corps was changed into the Indian Defence Force under the Act of 1917. In 1920, they were constituted by another Act into the Auxiliary Force.

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